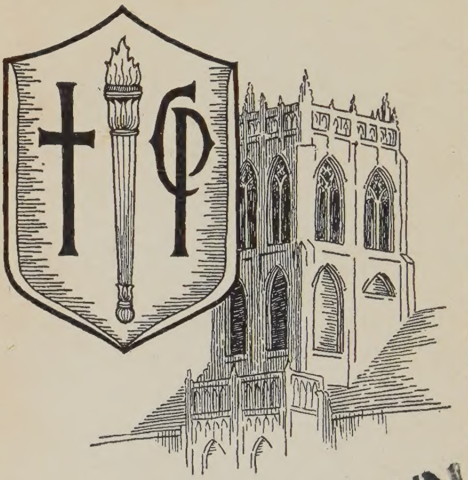

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XENOPHON

ANABASIS, BOOKS IV—VII
SYMPOSIUM AND APOLOGY

College of the Pacific
Stockton, Calif.

XENOPHON

ANABASIS, BOOKS IV–VII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
CARLETON L. BROWNSON
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Xenophon.

AND

SYMPOSIUM AND APOLOGY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXII

18499
PA
4495
A3
1918
v.3

18499

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XENOPHON

THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

BOOK IV

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

Δ

5 I. [1] Ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
6 πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. ἔνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ᾽ αὑτὸν καὶ τοὺς

[1] The summary prefixed to Book IV. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὅσα παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ
2 δεδήλωται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὀρέων πορευτέον
3 εἶναι. ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἁλισκομένων ὅτι εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι,
4 καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. τὴν δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

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[1] Summary (see above): The preceding narrative has described all that took place on the upward march until the time of the battle, all that happened after the battle

XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

BOOK IV

I. [1] When it was about the last watch, and enough of the night remained to allow them to cross the plain in the dark, at that time they arose upon the word of command and set out on their march; and they reached the mountain at daybreak. Here Cheirisophus, with his own division and all the

during the truce concluded by the King and the Greeks who had made the upward march in company with Cyrus, and likewise the whole course of the warfare carried on against the Greeks after the King and Tissaphernes had broken the truce, when the Persian army was hanging upon the Greek rear. When the Greeks finally reached a point where the Tigris river was quite impassable by reason of its depth and width, and where there was no passage-way alongside the river, since the Carduchian mountains hung sheer and close above it, the generals were forced to the conclusion that they must make their way through the mountains. For they heard from the prisoners who were taken that once they had passed through the Carduchian mountains and reached Armenia, they could there cross the headwaters of the Tigris river, if they so desired, or, if they preferred, could go round them. They were also informed that the headwaters of the Euphrates were not far from those of the Tigris,—and such is indeed the case. Now they conducted their invasion of the country of the Carduchians in the following way, since they were seeking not only to escape observation, but at the same time to reach the heights before the enemy could take possession of them.

γυμνῆτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθο-
φύλαξιν ὁπλίταις εἵπετο οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνῆτα·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι μή τις ἄνω
7 πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ
μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος πρίν τινας
αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ᾽ ὑφηγεῖτο·
ἐφείπετο δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος
εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς
8 τῶν ὀρέων. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες
τὰς οἰκίας ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας
ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν
λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις
κατεσκευασμέναι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ
Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφει-
δόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διιέναι
αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπείπερ βασιλεῖ
9 πολέμιοι ἦσαν· τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις
ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανεν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ
Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο
10 φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι — διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι
τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς
ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις — τότε δὴ συλλεγέντες
τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπετίθεντο,
καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τινας καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι
κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ

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[1] It will be remembered that light troops had proved more serviceable than hoplites in the recent skirmishes with the Persians. *cp.* III. iv. 15–17, 24–30, 38–43.

light-armed troops, led the van, while Xenophon followed behind with the hoplites of the rearguard, but without any light troops at all; for there seemed to be no danger of any pursuit from behind while they were proceeding uphill.[1] And Cheirisophus reached the summit of the pass before any of the enemy perceived him; then he led on slowly, and each division of the army as it passed over the summit followed along to the villages which lay in the hollows and nooks of the mountains. Then it was that the Carduchians abandoned their houses and fled to the mountains with their wives and children. As for provisions, there was an abundance for the Greeks to take, and the houses were also supplied with bronze vessels in great numbers; the Greeks, however, did not carry off any of these, and did not pursue the people themselves, refraining from harshness on the chance that the Carduchians might perhaps be willing to let them pass through their country in friendship, seeing that they also were enemies of the King; but they did take whatever they chanced upon in the way of provisions, for that was necessary. The Carduchians, however, would neither listen when they called to them nor give any other sign of friendliness. And when the rearguard of the Greeks was descending from the summit of the pass to the villages—and by this time it was dark, for on account of the road being narrow their ascent and descent lasted through the entire day—at this moment some of the Carduchians gathered together and attacked the hindmost Greeks; and they killed some and wounded others severely with stones and arrows, though they were themselves but few in number; for the Greek army

11 αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. εἰ μέντοι τότε
πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθα-
ρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν
τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ηὐλίσθησαν· οἱ
δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν
ὀρέων καὶ συνεβόων[1] ἀλλήλους.
12 Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑπο-
ζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας
πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τἆλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν
νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ
13 πάντα ἀφεῖναι. σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν
πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμά-
λωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι
ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ
φέρεσθαι πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν
δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.
14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστή-
σαντες ἐν τῷ στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὑρίσκοιεν
τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφῃροῦντο, οἱ δ'
ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς
ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ
ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ
15 μέν τι μαχόμενοι τὰ δέ τι ἀναπαυόμενοι. εἰς δὲ
τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολύς, ἀναγκαῖον
δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τἀπιτήδεια.
καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ
16 Ξενοφῶν. καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο,

[1] συνεβόων Gem., following Lüders: συνεώρων MSS., Mar.

had come upon them unexpectedly. If, however, a larger number of them had gathered together at that time, a great part of the army would have been in danger of being destroyed. Thus the Greeks bivouacked for that night in the villages, while the Carduchians kindled many fires round about upon the mountains and kept shouting to one another.

At daybreak the generals and captains of the Greeks came together and resolved to keep with them on the march only the indispensable and most powerful baggage animals and to leave the rest behind; likewise, to let go all the newly-taken captives that were in the army, to the last man. For the baggage animals and the captives, numerous as they were, made the march slow, and the large number of men who had charge of them were thus taken out of the fighting line; besides, with so many people to feed it was necessary to procure and to carry twice the amount of provisions. This decision once reached, they published the order to carry it into effect

When they had breakfasted and were setting out upon the march, the generals quietly stationed men in the defile and proceeded to take away from the troops such of the things specified as had not been given up if they found any; and the soldiers submitted, except in cases where a man had smuggled through a handsome boy or woman, for example, that he had set his heart upon. So they went on for that day, now fighting a little and now resting. On the next day there was a heavy storm, but they had to continue their march, for they had not an adequate supply of provisions; and Cheirisophus led the way while Xenophon commanded the rearguard. Here the

καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων ἐγγὺς προσιόντες
ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες
σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ
Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς
17 ἐπικέοιντο. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε
παρεγγυῷτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ'
ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἕπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον
ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμά τι εἴη· σχολὴ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν
παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ
πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι.
18 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς
Λεώνυμος τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς
σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς
διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλήν.
19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ
εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον
ᾐτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο
φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο καλώ τε
καὶ ἀγαθὼ ἄνδρε τέθνατον καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι
20 οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρί-
σοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς
ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ' αὕτη ὁδὸς ἣν ὁρᾷς
ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι
ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι
21 τὴν ἔκβασιν. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό

enemy began a vigorous attack, and in the narrow places on the road came close up to discharge their bows and slings. The result was that the Greeks were forced to give chase and then fall back, and hence made but slow progress; and time after time, when the enemy pressed them hard, Xenophon would send word to Cheirisophus to wait a little. Now while Cheirisophus was accustomed to wait whenever such word was given, on this occasion he did not do so, but led on rapidly and passed back the order to keep up with him. It was evident, therefore, that something was the matter, but there was no time to go forward and find out the reason for his haste; consequently the progress of the rearguard became more like a flight than a march. Then it was that a brave man was killed, Leonymus the Laconian, who was pierced in the side by an arrow that went through his shield and cuirass; also Basias the Arcadian, who was shot clean through the head.

As soon as they reached a halting place, Xenophon went straight to Cheirisophus, just as he was, and proceeded to reproach him for not waiting, but compelling them to flee and fight at the same time; "and now," he went on, "two fine, brave fellows have lost their lives, and we were not able to pick up their bodies or bury them." Cheirisophus' reply was, "Take a look," said he, "at the mountains, and observe how impassable all of them are. The only road is the one there, which you see, a steep one, too, and on that you can see the great crowd of people who have taken possession of it and are guarding our way out. That's the reason why I was hurrying and why I would not wait for you, for I

σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν
κατειλῆφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ᾽ ἡγεμόνες οὓς
22 ἔχομεν οὔ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ Ξενο-
φῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ
ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμέν
τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προυθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν
αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν
χώραν χρησαίμεθα.
23 Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤλεγχον
διαλαβόντες εἴ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν
φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη[1] μάλα πολλῶν
φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον
24 ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατεσφάγη. ὁ δὲ
λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα
εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ᾽
ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι
25 δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. ἐρω-
τώμενος δ᾽ εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον,
ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον ὃ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο,
ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν.
26 Ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς
καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν λέγειν τε τὰ
παρόντα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς
27 ἐθελοντὴς πορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὁπλι-

hoped to reach the pass and occupy it before they did. The guides that we have say there is no other road." And Xenophon answered, "Well, I also have two men. For at the time when the enemy were giving us trouble, we set an ambush. It allowed us, for one thing, to catch our breath; but, besides, we killed a number of them, and we took especial pains to get some prisoners for this very purpose, of being able to employ as guides men who know the country."

They brought up the two men at once and questioned them separately as to whether they knew any other road besides the one that was in plain sight. The first man said he did not, despite all the numerous threats that were made to him; and since he would give no information, he was slaughtered before the eyes of the second one. The latter now said that the reason why this first man had maintained that he did not know any other road, was because he chanced to have a daughter living in that neighbourhood with a husband to whom he had given her; but as for himself, he said that he would lead the Greeks by a road that could be traversed even by baggage animals. Upon being asked whether there was any point on it which was difficult to pass, he replied that there was a height which they could not possibly pass unless they should seize it beforehand.

Thereupon it was decided to call together the captains, both of peltasts and hoplites, to set forth to them the existing situation, and to ask if there was any one among them who would like to prove himself a brave man and to undertake this expedition as a volunteer. Volunteers came forward, from the

τῶν Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἕψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων
28 ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χῖος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

II. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δείλη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἢν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανερὰν ἔκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαί-
2 νοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανερὰν ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ
3 περιιόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἣν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὁλοιτρόχους ἁμαξιαίους καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους,[1]

[1] καὶ ἐλάττους MSS.: Gem. brackets.

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[1] See i. 20. [2] *i.e.* the volunteers.

hoplites Aristonymus of Methydrium and Agasias of Stymphalus, while in rivalry with them Callimachus of Parrhasia said that he was ready to make the expedition and take with him volunteers from the entire army; "for I know," he continued, "that many of the young men will follow if I am in the lead." Then they asked whether any one among the captains of light troops wanted to join in the march. The volunteer was Aristeas of Chios, who on many occasions proved himself valuable to the army for such services.

II. It was now late afternoon, and they ordered the volunteers to take a snatch of food and set out. They also bound the guide and turned him over to the volunteers, and made an agreement with them that in case they should capture the height, they were to guard it through the night and give a signal at daybreak with the trumpet; then those on the height were to proceed against the Carduchians who were holding the visible way out,[1] while the main army was to come to their support, pushing forward as fast as it could. This agreement concluded, the volunteers, about two thousand in number, set out on their march; and there was a heavy downpour of rain; at the same time Xenophon with the rearguard began advancing toward the visible way out, in order that the enemy might be giving their attention to that road and that the party[2] taking the roundabout route might, so far as possible, escape observation. But as soon as the troops of the rearguard were at a gorge which they had to cross before marching up the steep hill, at that moment the barbarians began to roll down round stones large enough for a wagon-load, with larger

οἳ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἷόν τ'
4 ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες.[1] οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.

5 Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύκλῳ περιιόντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαίνοντες τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον
6 κατέχοντες. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἐφ' ᾗ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν οἳ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο.
7 καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἵεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνη-

[1] After ὄντες the MSS. have αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες: Gem. brackets.

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[1] *i.e.* "the guards" whom they expected to find upon "the" height mentioned (i. 25, ii. 1). See below.
[2] *i.e.* the one mentioned in i. 20, 23, ii. 1.
[3] The signal agreed upon (§ 1 above).

and smaller ones also; they came down with a crash upon the rocks below and the fragments of them flew in all directions, so that it was quite impossible even to approach the ascending road. Then some of the captains, unable to proceed by this route, would try another, and they kept this up until darkness came on. It was not until they imagined that their withdrawal would be unobserved that they went back to dinner—and it chanced that they had had no breakfast either. The enemy, however, never stopped rolling down their stones all through the night, as one could judge from the noise.

Meanwhile the party with the guide, proceeding by a roundabout route, found the guards[1] sitting around a fire, and after killing some of them and chasing away the others they remained at the post themselves, supposing that they held the height. In fact, they were not holding it, for it was a round hill above them and past it ran this narrow road upon which the guards had been sitting. Nevertheless, from the place they did hold there was a way of approach to the spot, upon the visible road,[2] where the main body of the enemy were stationed. At this place, then, they passed the night, and when day was beginning to break, they took up their march silently in battle array against the enemy; for there was a mist, and consequently they got close up to them without being observed. When they did catch sight of one another, the trumpet[3] sounded and the Greeks raised the battle cry and rushed upon the enemy. And the Carduchians did not meet their attack, but abandoned the road and took to flight; only a few of them,

8 σκον· εὔζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον
ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος εὐθὺς ἵεντο ἄνω κατὰ
τὴν φανερὰν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν
κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ᾗ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι
ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους
9 τοῖς δόρασι. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμειξαν τοῖς
προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον.

Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς
ἡμίσεις ἐπορεύετο ᾗπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες·
εὐοδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ
10 ἡμίσεις ὄπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. πορευ-
όμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατει-
λημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἢ ἀποκόψαι ἦν
ἀνάγκη ἢ διεζεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.
καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ᾗπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ
11 δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλῃ ἢ ταύτῃ ἐκβῆναι. ἔνθα
δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσβάλλουσι
πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ
ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ
12 βούλοιντο φεύγειν. καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνα-
βαίνοντας ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο,
ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε
παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν

[1] Cheirisophus and his command.
[2] Which "could be traversed even by baggage animals," i. 24.

however, were killed, for they were agile fellows. Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his command, hearing the trumpet, charged immediately up the visible road; and some of the other generals made their way without following any road from the points where they severally chanced to be and, clambering up as best they could, pulled one another up with their spears; and it was they who were first to join the troops that had already gained possession of the place.

But Xenophon with half the rearguard set out by the same route which the party with the guide had followed, because this was the easiest route for the baggage animals; and behind the baggage animals he posted the other half of the rearguard. As they proceeded they came upon a hill above the road which had been seized by the enemy, and found themselves compelled either to dislodge them or be completely separated from the rest of the Greeks; and while, so far as the troops themselves were concerned, they might have taken the same route that the rest [1] followed, the baggage animals could not get through by any other road than this one [2] by which Xenophon was proceeding. Then and there, accordingly, with words of cheer to one another, they charged upon the hill with their companies in column, not surrounding it, but leaving the enemy a way of retreat in case they chose to use it. For a while, as the Greeks were climbing up by whatever way they severally could, the barbarians discharged arrows and other missiles upon them; they did not let them get near, however, but took to flight and abandoned the place. No sooner had the Greeks passed by this hill, than they saw a second one

ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις
13 ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν—ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα—καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἱροῦσιν.

14 Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν.
15 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπώπτευον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὄπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώ-
16 ρουν. καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμείξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε.

17 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ

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[1] The one originally mentioned by the Carduchian guide. See i. 25, ii. 6.

[2] *i. e.* the three companies left upon the first hill, which the main body of Xenophon's troops had now passed by. See below.

ahead similarly occupied by the enemy, and decided to proceed against this one in its turn. Xenophon, however, becoming apprehensive lest, if he should leave unoccupied the hill he had just captured, the enemy might take possession of it again and attack the baggage train as it passed (and the train stretched out a long way because of the narrowness of the road it was following), left three captains upon the hill, Cephisodorus, son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, Amphicrates, son of Amphidemus, also an Athenian, and Archagoras, an Argive exile; while he himself with the rest of the troops proceeded against the second hill, which they captured in the same fashion as the first.

There still remained a third round hill,[1] far the steepest of them all, the one that rose above the guard post, by the fire, which had been captured during the night by the volunteers. But when the Greeks got near this hill, the barbarians abandoned it without striking a blow, so that everybody was filled with surprise and imagined that they had quit the place out of fear that they might be surrounded and blockaded. As it proved, however, they had seen, looking down from their height, what was going on farther back, and were all setting out to attack the Greek rearguard.[2] Meanwhile Xenophon proceeded to climb the abandoned height with his youngest troops, ordering the rest to move on slowly in order that the hindmost companies might catch up; then they were to advance along the road and halt under arms on the plateau [3] at the top of the pass.

At this time Archagoras the Argive came up in flight and reported that the Greeks had been dis-

[3] Into which the ἔκβασις, or "way out," ultimately led.

τοῦ λόφου καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ
Ἀμφικράτης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἁλάμενοι κατὰ
τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο.
18 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἧκον ἐπ'
ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν
διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ
19 τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῄτει. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν
ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα
ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα
παρῄει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ
τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύησαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέ-
20 μιοι.[1] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ
μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο,
ἵεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ·
καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ
ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρους·
καὶ ἑνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ
21 ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν· Εὐρύ-
λοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὁπλίτης,
καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.
22 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν,
καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς
οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος
23 πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. Ξενο-
φῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λα-

[1] ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι C_1: ἐνταῦθα ἵσταντο οἱ πολ. the other MSS. Gem. omits ἵσταντο and brackets οἱ πολέμιοι, following Schneider, while Mar. condemns the entire phrase ἐνταῦθα—πολέμιοι.

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[1] In this case the reference is manifestly to the division behind the baggage train (§ 9). [2] See § 14 above.

lodged from the first hill, that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates had been killed, and likewise all the rest except such as had leaped down the rocks and reached the rearguard.[1] After accomplishing this achievement the barbarians came to a hill opposite the round hill,[2] and Xenophon, through an interpreter, held a colloquy with them in regard to a truce and asked them to give back the bodies of the Greek dead. They replied that they would give them back on condition that the Greeks should not burn their houses. To this Xenophon agreed. But while the rest of the army was passing by and they were engaged in this conference, all the enemy from that neighbourhood had streamed together to the spot; and as soon as Xenophon and his men began to descend from the round hill, in order to join the rest of the Greeks at the place where they were halted under arms, the enemy took this opportunity to rush upon them in great force and with a great deal of uproar. When they had reached the crest of the hill from which Xenophon was descending, they proceeded to roll down stones. They broke one man's leg, and Xenophon found himself deserted by the servant who was carrying his shield; but Eurylochus of Lusi, a hoplite, ran up to him and, keeping his shield held out in front of them both, fell back with him; and the rest also made good their retreat to the main array.

Then the entire Greek army united, and the troops took up quarters there in many fine houses and in the midst of abundant supplies; for the inhabitants had wine in such quantities that they kept it in cemented cisterns. Meanwhile Xenophon and Cheirisophus effected an arrangement by which they

βόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ
πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν
ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς.
24 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο·
μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίον
προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυον τὰς παρόδους.
25 ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν
ὄπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν
τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος
26 γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων, ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὄπισθεν
ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος
ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων ἔλυε τὴν
ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὄπισθεν· καὶ ἀεὶ
οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων
27 ἐπεμέλοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι
πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν
καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ
ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον
28 ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. ἄριστοι δὲ καὶ
τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ
δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπήχη· εἷλκον δὲ τὰς
νευρὰς ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου
τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύ-
ματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωρά-
κων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν,
ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις

recovered the bodies of their dead and gave back the guide; and they rendered to the dead, so far as their means permitted, all the usual honours that are paid to brave men.

On the next day they continued their march without a guide, while the enemy, by fighting and by seizing positions in advance wherever the road was narrow, tried to prevent their passage. Accordingly, whenever they blocked the march of the van, Xenophon would push forward from the rear to the mountains and break the blockade of the road for the van by trying to get higher than those who were halting it, and whenever they attacked the rear, Cheirisophus would sally forth and, by trying to get higher than the obstructing force, would break the blockade of the passage-way for the rear; in this way they continually aided one another and took zealous care for one another. There were times, indeed, when the barbarians caused a great deal of trouble even to the troops who had climbed to a higher position, when they were coming down again; for their men were so agile that even if they took to flight from close at hand, they could escape; for they had nothing to carry except bows and slings. As bowmen they were most excellent; they had bows nearly three cubits long and their arrows were more than two cubits, and when they shot, they would draw their strings by pressing with the left foot against the lower end of the bow; and their arrows would go straight through shields and breastplates.[1] Whenever they got hold of them, the Greeks would use these arrows as javelins, fitting them with thongs. In these regions

[1] See i. 18.

οἱ Κρῆτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν
Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

III. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσθησαν ἐν
ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου παρὰ τὸν
Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς
ὁρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων
χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνέπνευσαν
ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπεῖχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ὁ
ποταμὸς ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων.
2 τότε μὲν οὖν ηὐλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τἀπι-
τήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων
πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὅσασπερ
ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων πάσας μαχό-
μενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ
σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς
οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.
3 Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππέας που πέραν
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας
διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγ-
μένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν
4 Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ
Ἀρτούχα Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι
μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί
τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ
5 καὶ λόγχας. αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ἐφ' ὧν παρα-
τεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα

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[1] On the preceding night also they had been quartered in villages (ii. 22).

the Cretans made themselves exceedingly useful. They were commanded by a Cretan named Stratocles.

III. For that day again[1] they found quarters in the villages that lie above the plain bordering the Centrites river, which is about two plethra in width and separates Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. There the Greeks took breath, glad to behold a plain; for the river was distant six or seven stadia from the mountains of the Carduchians. At the time, then, they went into their quarters very happily, for they had provisions and likewise many recollections of the hardships that were now past. For during all the seven days of their march through the land of the Carduchians they were continually fighting, and they suffered more evils than all which they had suffered taken together at the hands of the King and Tissaphernes. In the feeling, therefore, that they were rid of these troubles they lay down happily to rest.

At daybreak, however, they caught sight of horsemen at a place across the river, fully armed and ready to dispute their passage, and likewise foot-soldiers drawn up in line of battle upon the bluffs above the horsemen, to prevent their pushing up into Armenia. All these were the troops of Orontas[2] and Artuchas,[3] and consisted of Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldaean mercenaries. The Chaldaeans were said to be an independent and valiant people; they had as weapons long wicker shields and lances. Now the bluffs just mentioned, upon which these troops were drawn up, were distant

[2] Satrap of Armenia. *cp.* II. iv. 8, 9; III. iv. 13, v. 17.

[3] A Persian general.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῖχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ὁρωμένη
ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπει-
6 ρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμέ-
νοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ
τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ ὀλι-
σθηροῖς, καὶ οὔτ᾽ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν·
εἰ δὲ μή, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπί τε τῆς κεφαλῆς
τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς
τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τἆλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ
αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.
7 ἔνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ
ὄρους ἑώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγ-
μένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία
ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν
δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας,
ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς
Καρδούχους ὄπισθεν.

8 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἔμειναν
ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν·
ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτό-
μαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν
ὁπόσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται
πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει
9 καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. ὁ
δὲ ἥδετό τε καὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαινεν ἐθύ-
οντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί. καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ

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[1] *i. e.* opposite this road, where they naturally expected to find a practicable ford.

[2] διαβαίνειν, which also means "to cross" a river (see above). Here lay the good omen of the dream.

three or four plethra from the river, and there was only one road to be seen that led up them, apparently an artificial road; so at this point[1] the Greeks undertook to cross the river. When they made the attempt, however, the water proved to be more than breast deep and the river bed was rough with large, slippery stones; furthermore, they could not carry their shields in the water, for if they tried that, the current would snatch them away, while if a man carried them on his head, his body was left unprotected against arrows and other missiles; so they turned back and went into camp there by the side of the river. Meanwhile, at the point where they had themselves spent the previous night, on the mountain side, they could see the Carduchians gathered together under arms in great numbers. Then it was that deep despondency fell upon the Greeks, as they saw before them a river difficult to cross, beyond it troops that would obstruct their crossing, and behind them the Carduchians, ready to fall upon their rear when they tried to cross.

That day and night, accordingly, they remained there, in great perplexity. But Xenophon had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that the fetters fell off from him of their own accord, so that he was released and could take as long steps[2] as he pleased. When dawn came, he went to Cheirisophus, told him he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. Cheirisophus was pleased, and as soon as day began to break, all the generals were at hand and proceeded to offer sacrifices. And with the very first victim the omens were favourable. Then the generals

τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ[1] παρήγγελλον
τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.
10 Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο
νεανίσκω· ᾔδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ
καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰ
καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν
11 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχά-
νοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κἄπειτα
κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις
ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα
καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατα-
12 τιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφίσι
δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο.
ἐκδύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ
ὡς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρό-
σθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ δια-
βάντες, λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἥκειν.
13 Εὐθὺς οὖν Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς
νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς
φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ
τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι.[1] σπείσας δ' εὐθὺς
ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ
διηγοῦνται ταὐτά. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος
14 σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέ-

[1] καὶ λοχαγοὶ Gem. brackets, following Schenkl.

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[1] Especially a safe crossing and a safe return to Greece.

and captains withdrew from the sacrifice and gave orders to the troops to get their breakfasts.

While Xenophon was breakfasting, two young men came running up to him; for all knew that they might go to him whether he was breakfasting or dining, and that if he were asleep, they might awaken him and tell him whatever they might have to tell that concerned the war. In the present case the young men reported that they had happened to be gathering dry sticks for the purpose of making a fire, and that while so occupied they had descried across the river, among some rocks that reached down to the very edge of the river, an old man and a woman and some little girls putting away what looked like bags of clothes in a cavernous rock. When they saw this proceeding, they said, they made up their minds that it was safe for them to cross, for this was a place that was not accessible to the enemy's cavalry. They accordingly stripped, keeping only their daggers, and started across naked, supposing that they would have to swim; but they went on and got across without wetting themselves up to the middle; once on the other side, they took the clothes and came back again.

Upon hearing this report Xenophon immediately proceeded to pour a libation himself, and directed his attendants to fill a cup for the young men and to pray to the gods who had revealed the dream and the ford, to bring to fulfilment the other blessings also.[1] The libation accomplished, he at once led the young men to Cheirisophus, and they repeated their story to him. And upon hearing it Cheirisophus also made libation. Thereafter they gave orders to the troops to pack up their baggage, while they

σαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἂν κάλ-
λιστα διαβαῖεν καὶ τούς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῷεν καὶ
15 ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. καὶ
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ δια-
βαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ'
ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑπο-
ζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν.
16 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦν-
το δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν
ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέττα-
17 ρες στάδιοι. πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρῆσαν
αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν
διάβασιν[1] τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ
αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ
ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι
παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν
τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοὺς
δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντεις ἐσφαγιά-
18 ζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευον
19 καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὔπω ἐξικνοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ
καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρα-
τιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ
γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἑταῖραι ἐν
τῷ στρατεύματι.
20 Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ·
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς
εὐζωνοτάτους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν

[1] After διάβασιν the MSS. have καὶ τὰς ὄχθας: Gem. brackets.

themselves called together the generals and took counsel as to how they might best effect a crossing so as to defeat the enemy in front without suffering any harm from those in their rear. The decision was, that Cheirisophus should take the lead with half the army and attempt a crossing, that the other half with Xenophon should stay behind for a while, and that the baggage animals and camp followers should cross between the two divisions.

When these arrangements had been satisfactorily made, they set out, the young men leading the way and keeping the river on the left; and the distance to the ford was about four stadia. As they proceeded, the squadrons of the enemy's cavalry kept along opposite to them. When they reached the ford, they halted under arms, and Cheirisophus put a wreath upon his head,[1] threw off his cloak, and took up his arms, giving orders to all the others to do the same; he also directed the captains to lead their companies in column, part of them upon his left and the rest upon his right. Meanwhile the soothsayers were offering sacrifice to the river, and the enemy were shooting arrows and discharging slings, but not yet reaching their mark; and when the sacrifices proved favourable, all the soldiers struck up the paean and raised the war shout, while the women, everyone of them, joined their cries with the shouting of the men—for there were a large number of women in the camp.

Then Cheirisophus and his division proceeded into the river; but Xenophon took the nimblest troops of the rearguard and began running back at full

[1] As the Spartans were accustomed to do when going into battle. *cp.* I. iv. 2–3.

πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς
21 ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱππέας. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοὔμπαλιν, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποληφθείησαν φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἔκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν
22 ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἐπεὶ ἑώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκ-
23 βαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὁρῶντες δ' ὁπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

24 Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς
25 τελευταίοις. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιῶξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα καὶ μετὰ
26 τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. καὶ τὰ

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[1] *i.e.* the original ford, which had proved impracticable (§§ 5–6).
[2] *i.e.* by attacking them on the flank.
[3] See § 3 above.
[4] Which numbered only fifty men (III. iii. 20).

speed to the ford[1] that was opposite the road which led out into the Armenian mountains, pretending that he meant to cross at that point and thus cut off[2] the horsemen who were by the side of the river. The enemy thereupon, when they saw Cheirisophus and his division crossing the river without difficulty and likewise saw Xenophon and his men running back, were seized with fear that they might be cut off, and they fled at full speed to reach the road which led up from the river. This road once gained, they hastened on upward in the direction of the mountain. Then Lycius, who commanded the squadron of Greek cavalry, and Aeschines, commander of the battalion of peltasts that was with Cheirisophus, upon seeing the enemy in full flight set off in pursuit, while the rest of the Greek troops shouted to them not to fall behind, but to follow the fugitives right up to the mountain. As for Cheirisophus, after getting across he chose not to pursue the hostile cavalry, but immediately pushed up over the bluffs that reached down to the river against the infantry on top of them.[3] And these troops, seeing their own cavalry in flight and hoplites advancing upon them, abandoned the heights above the river.

Xenophon no sooner saw that all was going well on the other side than he started back with all speed to join the troops that were crossing, for by this time the Carduchians could be seen descending into the plain with the manifest intention of attacking the hindmost. Meanwhile Cheirisophus was in possession of the bluffs, and Lycius, venturing a pursuit with his small squadron,[4] had captured the straggling portion of the enemy's baggage train, and with it fine apparel and drinking cups. And now,

μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὅπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ᾽ ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ᾽ ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἰέναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ
27 ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θᾶττον δὴ ἐπῇσαν ᾠδάς τινας ᾄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν
28 ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. ἰδὼν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ᾽ ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν.
29 τοῖς δὲ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνη ἐξικνῆται καὶ ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν

[1] See III. iv. 21–22, and note thereon.
[2] In order to deceive the enemy.

with the Greek baggage train and the camp followers in the very act of crossing, Xenophon wheeled his troops so that they took a position facing the Carduchians, and gave orders to the captains that each man of them should form his own company by squads,[1] moving each squad by the left into line of battle; then the captains and squad leaders were to face toward the Carduchians and station file closers on the side next to the river. But as soon as the Carduchians saw the rearguard stripped of the crowd of camp followers and looking now like a small body, they advanced to the attack all the more rapidly, singing a kind of songs. As for Cheirisophus, since everything was safe on his side, he sent back to Xenophon the peltasts, slingers, and bowmen, and directed them to do whatever Xenophon might order. But when he saw them beginning to cross, Xenophon sent a messenger and directed them to stay where they were, on the bank of the river, without crossing; at the moment, however, when his own men should begin to cross, they were to enter the river opposite them, on this side and that, as though they were going to cross it, the javelin men with hand on the thong and the bowmen with arrow on the string; but they were not to proceed far into the river. The orders he gave to his own men were, that when sling-stones reached them and shields rang, they were to strike up the paean and charge upon the enemy, and when the enemy turned to flight and the trumpeter on the river-bank sounded the charge,[2] they were to face about to the right, the file closers were to take the lead, and all of them were to run and cross as fast as they could with every man keeping his

ὅτι τάχιστα ᾗ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ
ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο
ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.
30 Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοι-
πούς—πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων
ᾤχοντο ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ
σκευῶν, οἱ δ᾽ ἑταιρῶν—ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο
31 θρασέως καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. οἱ
δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ᾽
αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν
ὡπλισμένοι ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ
ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας
32 δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλ-
πικτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι
θᾶττον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τἀναντία στρέψαντες
33 ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. τῶν δὲ
πολεμίων οἱ μέν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον
ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν,
οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι
34 φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες
ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόν-
τες ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν
πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ
μέσον ἡμέρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας
πεδίον ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους οὐ μεῖον ἢ
πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ
ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς
2 Καρδούχους. εἰς δὲ ἣν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη

proper place in the line, so that they should not interfere with one another; and he that got to the other side first would be the best man.

Now the Carduchians, seeing that those who were left were by this time few in number (for many even of those detailed to stay had gone off to look after pack animals or baggage or women, as the case might be), at that moment proceeded to press upon them boldly and began to sling stones and shoot arrows. Then the Greeks struck up the paean and charged at them on the run, and they did not meet the attack; for while they were equipped well enough for attack and retreat in the mountains, their equipment was not adequate for hand-to-hand fighting. At that instant the Greek trumpeter sounded his signal; and while the enemy began to flee much faster than before, the Greeks turned about and set out on their own flight through the river at top speed. Some few of the enemy, perceiving this movement, ran back to the river and wounded a few Greeks with arrows, but most of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, could still be seen continuing their flight. But the troops that came to meet Xenophon, behaving like men and advancing farther than they should have gone, crossed back again in the rear of Xenophon's command; and some of them also were wounded.

IV. When they had accomplished the crossing, they formed in line of battle about midday and marched through Armenia, over entirely level country and gently sloping hills, not less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river because of the wars between the Armenians and Carduchians. The village which they finally reached was a large

τε ἦν καὶ βασίλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ καὶ
ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπι-
3 τήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῆ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν
σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα μέχρι ὑπερῆλθον
τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ'
ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντε-
καίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν
καλὸς μέν, μέγας δ' οὔ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ
4 τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία
ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. ὕπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς
Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ
ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν
5 ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων,
καὶ προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιτο δια-
λεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν
ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἠρώτων
6 τί θέλει. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιτο ἐφ'
ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους
καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τἀπιτήδεια ὅσων
δέοιντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπεί-
σαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.
7 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ
πεδίου παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος
παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀπέχων
ὡς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασίλεια καὶ
κώμας πέριξ πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
8 μεστάς. στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται
τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἕωθεν ἔδοξε δια-
σκηνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ

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[1] Subordinate to the satrap of all Armenia, Orontas. See iii. 4, and note thereon.

[2] It was now late in November.

one and had a palace for the satrap, while most of the houses were surmounted by turrets; and provisions were plentiful. From there they marched two stages, ten parasangs, until they passed the headwaters of the Tigris river. From there they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Teleboas river. This was a beautiful river, though not a large one, and there were many villages about it. This region was called Western Armenia. Its lieutenant-governor[1] was Tiribazus, who had proved himself a friend to the King and, so often as he was present, was the only man permitted to help the King mount his horse. He rode up to the Greeks with a body of horsemen, and sending forward an interpreter, said that he wished to confer with their commanders. The generals decided to hear what he had to say, and, after approaching within hearing distance, they asked him what he wanted. He replied that he wished to conclude a treaty with these conditions, that he on his side would not harm the Greeks, and that they should not burn the houses, but might take all the provisions they needed. This proposition was accepted by the generals, and they concluded a treaty on these terms.

From there they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, through level country, Tiribazus and his command following along at a distance of about ten stadia from them; and they reached a palace with many villages round about it full of provisions in abundance. While they were in camp there, there was a heavy fall of snow[2] during the night, and in the morning they decided to quarter the several divisions of the army, with their commanders,

τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ
ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος.
9 ἐνταῦθα εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθά,
ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἴνους παλαιοὺς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας,
ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων
τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοιεν
10 νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοντα. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ
συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συν-
11 ῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. νυκτερευόντων
δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε
ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ
χιών· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατα-
κειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα
12 ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε
γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστάς τις
καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ
τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ
13 ἐχρίοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκετο χρῖμα, ᾧ
ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ
ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερμίνθινον. ἐκ
δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον ηὑρίσκετο.
14 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι
εἰς τὰς κώμας[1] εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται
σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ᾖσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας

[1] *εἰς τὰς κώμας* Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Krüger.

in the different villages; for there was no enemy within sight, and the plan seemed to be a safe one by reason of the great quantity of snow. There they had all possible good things in the way of supplies—animals for sacrifice, grain, old wines with a fine bouquet, dried grapes, and beans of all sorts. But some men who straggled away from their quarters reported that they saw in the night the gleam of a great many fires. The generals accordingly decided that it was unsafe to have their divisions in separate quarters, and that they must bring all the troops together again; so they came together, especially as the storm seemed to be clearing up. But there came such a tremendous fall of snow while they were bivouacked there that it completely covered both the arms and the men as they slept, besides hampering the baggage animals; and everybody was very reluctant to get up, for as the men lay there the snow that had fallen upon them—in case it did not slip off—was a source of warmth. But once Xenophon had mustered the courage to get up without his cloak and set about splitting wood, another man also speedily got up, took the axe away from him, and went on with the splitting. Thereupon still others got up and proceeded to build fires and anoint themselves; for they found ointment there in abundance which they used in place of olive oil—made of pork fat, sesame, bitter almonds, or turpentine. They found also a fragrant oil made out of these same ingredients.

After this it was deemed necessary to distribute the troops again to quarters in the houses of the several villages. Then followed plenty of joyful shouting as the men went back to their houses

καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ ὅτε τὸ[1] πρότερον ἀπῆσαν
τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν[2] ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, δίκην
15 ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν
νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην ἄνδρας δόντες ἐπὶ
τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν
τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ
ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ
16 τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν
πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἧκεν
ἄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ
17 σάγαριν οἵανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. ἐρωτώμεν-
ος δὲ ποδαπὸς εἴη Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύ-
εσθαι δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατοπέδου, ὅπως
ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἱ δὲ ἠρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στρά-
τευμα ὁπόσον τ᾽ εἴη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον.
18 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἴη ἔχων τήν τε αὑτοῦ
δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους·
παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ
τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ᾗπερ μοναχῇ εἴη πορεία,
ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
19 Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ
στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας κατα-
λιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνε-
τον Στυμφάλιον ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν
20 ἁλόντα ἄνθρωπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ
ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ
στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἀλλ᾽

[1] ὅτε τὸ Mar., following MS. D: the other MSS. and Gem. omit.

[2] ἐνέπρησαν MSS., Mar.: ἐμπρήσαντες Gem. with MS. D.

and provisions, and all those who just before had wantonly burned the houses they were leaving, paid the penalty by getting poor quarters. After this they sent Democrates of Temnus with a body of troops during the night to the mountains where the stragglers said they had seen the fires; for this Democrates enjoyed the reputation of having made accurate reports in many previous cases of the same sort, describing what were facts as facts and what were fictions as fictions. Upon his return he stated that he had not seen the fires; he had captured, however, and brought back with him a man with a Persian bow and quiver and a battle-axe of the same sort that Amazons carry. When this man was asked from what country he came, he said he was a Persian and was on his way from the camp of Tiribazus to get provisions. They asked him how large Tiribazus' army was and for what purpose it had been gathered. He replied that it was Tiribazus with his own forces and Chalybian and Taochian mercenaries, and that he had made his preparations with the idea of taking a position upon the mountain pass, in the defile through which ran the only road, and there attacking the Greeks.

When the generals heard these statements, they resolved to bring the troops together into a camp; then, after leaving a garrison and Sophaenetus the Stymphalian as general in command of those who stayed behind, they set out at once, with the captured man as guide. As soon as they had begun to cross the mountains, the peltasts, pushing on ahead and descrying the enemy's camp, did not wait for the hoplites, but raised a shout and charged upon

21 ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἑάλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἑάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ
22 οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπῇσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

V. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιντο τάχιστα πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος
2 κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο δ' οὐδ' αἱ πηγαὶ πρόσω εἶναι.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας[1] τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων
4 πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεών τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, καὶ

[1] *τρεῖς παρασάγγας* added by Gem.: *σταθμοὺς τρισκαίδεκα* C_1, while C_2 adds in margin *παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ*: Mar. reads

the camp. When the barbarians heard the uproar, they did not wait to offer resistance, but took to flight; nevertheless, some of them were killed, about twenty horses were captured, and likewise Tiribazus' tent, with silver-footed couches in it, and drinking cups, and people who said they were his bakers and his cup-bearers. As soon as the generals of the hoplites learned of these results, they deemed it best to go back as speedily as possible to their own camp, lest some attack might be made upon those they had left behind. So they immediately sounded the recall with the trumpet and set out on the return journey, arriving at their camp on the same day.

V. On the next day it seemed that they must continue their march with all speed, before the hostile army could be gathered together again and take possession of the narrow passes. They accordingly packed up and set out at once, marching through deep snow with a large number of guides; and before the day ended they crossed over the summit at which Tiribazus was intending to attack them and went into camp. From there they marched three stages through desert country, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates river, and crossed it, wetting themselves up to the navel; and report was that the sources of the river were not far distant.

From there they marched over a plain and through deep snow three stages, thirteen parasangs. The third stage proved a hard one, with the north wind, which blew full in their faces, absolutely blasting everything and freezing the men. Then it was that one of the soothsayers bade them offer sacrifice to

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σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας † *πεντεκαίδεκα* †: Krüger *στ. τρ. παρ. δέκα.*

σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξεν
λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς
χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων
καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν
5 στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν
νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ
πολλά. οἱ δὲ ὀψὲ προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον· οἱ
οὖν πάλαι ἥκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσίεσαν
πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν αὐτοῖς
6 πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. ἔνθα δὴ
μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα
δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθροι
ἐγένοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὗ δὴ παρῆν
μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.
7 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύ-
οντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβου-
λιμίασαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν καὶ κατα-
λαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγνόει
8 ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν
ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι κἄν τι φάγωσιν
ἀναστήσονται, περιιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ πού
τι ὁρῴη βρωτόν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας
τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν[1] τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν.
9 ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.
Πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας

[1] παρατρέχειν MSS., Gem. : περιτρέχειν Mar.

the wind, and sacrifice was offered; and it seemed quite clear to everybody that the violence of the wind abated. But the depth of the snow was a fathom, so that many of the baggage animals and slaves perished, and about thirty of the soldiers. They got through that night by keeping up fires, for there was wood in abundance at the halting-place; those who came up late, however, had none, and consequently the men who had arrived early and were keeping a fire would not allow the late comers to get near it unless they gave them a share of their wheat or anything else they had that was edible. So then they shared with one another what they severally possessed. Now where the fire was kindled the snow melted, and the result was great holes clear down to the ground; and there, of course, one could measure the depth of the snow.

From there they marched all the following day through snow, and many of the men fell ill with hunger-faintness. And Xenophon, with the rear-guard, as he came upon the men who were falling by the way, did not know what the trouble was. But as soon as a person who was acquainted with the disease had told him that they manifestly had hunger-faintness, and if they were given something to eat would be able to get up, he went around among the baggage animals, and wherever he saw anything that was edible, he would distribute it among the sick men, or send hither and thither people who had the strength to run along the lines, to give it to them. And when they had eaten something, they would get up and continue the march.

As the army went on, Cheirisophus reached a

πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς
κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας κατα-
10 λαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. αὗται ἠρώτων
αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ᾽ ἑρμηνεὺς εἶπε περσιστὶ ὅτι
παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην.
αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ᾽
ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. οἱ δ᾽, ἐπεὶ ὀψὲ ἦν,
πρὸς τὸν κώμαρχον συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα
11 σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι
ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ
δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι
καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν
στρατιωτῶν.
12 Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι
τινὲς καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον
καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο
δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἵ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς
χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἵ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους
13 τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. ἦν
δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος εἴ
τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο,
τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν
14 ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο· ὅσοι δὲ
ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας
οἱ ἱμάντες καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο·
καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδή-
ματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων
βοῶν.
15 Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες
τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον

village about dusk, and found at the spring outside the wall women and girls who had come from the village to fetch water. They asked the Greeks who they were, and the interpreter replied in Persian that they were on their way from the King to the satrap. The women answered that he was not there, but about a parasang away. Then, inasmuch as it was late, the Greeks accompanied the water-carriers within the wall to visit the village chief. So it was that Cheirisophus and all the troops who could muster strength enough to reach the village, went into quarters there, but such of the others as were unable to complete the journey spent the night in the open without food or fire; and in this way some of the soldiers perished.

Meanwhile they were being followed by the enemy, some of whom had banded together and were seizing such of the pack animals as lacked the strength to go on, and fighting over them with one another. Some of the soldiers likewise were falling behind—those whose eyes had been blinded by the snow, or whose toes had rotted off by reason of the cold. It was a protection to the eyes against the snow if a man marched with something black in front of them, and a protection to the feet if one kept moving and never quiet, and if he took off his shoes for the night; but in all cases where men slept with their shoes on, the straps sunk into their flesh and the shoes froze on their feet; for what they were wearing, since their old shoes had given out, were brogues made of freshly flayed ox-hides.

It was under compulsion of such difficulties that some of the soldiers were falling behind; and espying a spot that was dark because the snow

διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα ᾔκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ· ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι
16 ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ᾔσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἕπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινεν. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέ-
17 λευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἑπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσῆσαν πολλῷ
18 θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δείσαντες ἧκαν αὑτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγξατο.

19 Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἥξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτούς, πορευόμενοι πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν
20 οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. ὁ δὲ παριὼν καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλῦον. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι

just there had disappeared, they surmised that it had melted; and in fact it had melted, on account of a spring which was near by, steaming in a dell; here they turned aside and sat down, refusing to go any farther. But when Xenophon with some of the rearguard observed them, he begged them by all manner of means not to be left behind, telling them that a large body of the enemy had gathered and were pursuing, and finally he became angry. They told him, however, to kill them, for they could not go on. In this situation it seemed to be best to frighten the pursuing enemy, if they could, in order to prevent their falling upon the sick men. It was dark by this time, and the enemy were coming on with a great uproar, quarrelling over the booty they had. Then the men of the rearguard, since they were sound and well, started up and charged upon the enemy, while the invalids raised as big a shout as they could and clashed their shields against their spears. And the enemy, seized with fear, threw themselves down over the snow into the dell, and not a sound was heard from them afterwards.

Thereupon Xenophon and his men, after telling the invalids that on the next day people would come back after them, continued their march, but before they had gone four stadia they came upon their comrades lying down in the road upon the snow, wrapped up in their cloaks, and without so much as a single guard posted. They tried to get them up, but the men said that the troops in front would not make way for them. Xenophon accordingly passed along and, sending forward the strongest of the peltasts, directed them to see what the hindrance was. They reported back that the whole army was

21 ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ηὐλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἵας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι.

22 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ηὐλίζετο.
23 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἃς ἑώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς
24 ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. ἔνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κώμαρχον, καὶ πώλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ᾤχετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἑάλω ἐν τῇ κώμῃ.

25 Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέ-

resting in this way. Thereupon Xenophon also and his party bivouacked where they were, without a fire and without dinner, after stationing such guards as they could. When it came toward morning, Xenophon sent the youngest of his troops to the sick men with orders to make them get up and force them to proceed.

Meanwhile Cheirisophus sent some of the troops quartered in the village to find out how the people at the rear were faring. Xenophon's party were glad enough to see them, and turned over the invalids to them to carry on to the camp, while they themselves continued their journey, and before completing twenty stadia reached the village where Cheirisophus was quartered. When all had come together, the generals decided that it was safe for the different divisions of the army to take up quarters in the several villages. Cheirisophus accordingly remained where he was, while the other generals distributed by lot the villages within sight, and all set off with their respective commands. Then it was that Polycrates, an Athenian captain, asked to be detached from his division; and with an active group of men he ran to the village which had fallen to Xenophon's lot and there took possession of all the villagers, the village chief included, seventeen colts which were being reared for tribute to the King, and the village chief's daughter, who had been married eight days before; her husband, however, was off hunting hares, and was not taken in the village.

The houses here were underground, with a mouth like that of a well, but spacious below; and while entrances were tunnelled down for the beasts of burden, the human inhabitants descended by a

βαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν
αἶγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων·
26 τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῷ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. ἦσαν
δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος
κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ
κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν
27 μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες· τού-
τους ἔδει ὁπότε τις διψῴη λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα
μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μή τις ὕδωρ
ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν.
28 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης
σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε
λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο τήν τε
οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
ἀπίασιν, ἢν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησά-
μενος φαίνηται ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται.
29 ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον
ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν
τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν
πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ
ἔχοντες τὸν κώμαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.
30 Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν
κώμαρχον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ
παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις
καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχουμένους καὶ
εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν
31 παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ
παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνεια,

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[1] Such underground villages are still to be found in Modern Armenia.

ladder.[1] In the houses were goats, sheep, cattle, fowls, and their young; and all the animals were reared and took their fodder there in the houses. Here were also wheat, barley, and beans, and barley-wine in large bowls. Floating on the top of this drink were the barley-grains and in it were straws, some larger and others smaller, without joints; and when one was thirsty, he had to take these straws into his mouth and suck. It was an extremely strong drink unless one diluted it with water, and extremely good when one was used to it.

Xenophon made the chief man of this village his guest at dinner and bade him be of good cheer, telling him that he should not be deprived of his children, and that before they went away they would fill his house with provisions by way of reward in case he should prove to have given the army good guidance until they should reach another tribe. He promised to do this, and in a spirit of kindliness told them where there was wine buried. For that night, then, all Xenophon's soldiers, in this village where they were thus separately quartered, went to bed amid an abundance of everything, keeping the village chief under guard and his children all together within sight.

On the next day Xenophon took the village chief and set out to visit Cheirisophus; whenever he passed a village, he would turn aside to visit the troops quartered there, and everywhere he found them faring sumptuously and in fine spirits; there was no place from which the men would let them go until they had served them a luncheon, and no place where they did not serve on the same table lamb,

ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς
32 ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. ὁπότε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἷλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ῥοφοῦντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δέ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν
33 ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κἀκείνους σκηνοῦντας ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν.

34 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κώμαρχον διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἑρμηνέως τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτων τίνι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυ-
35 βας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ᾗ εἴη. καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαίτερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῦσαι, ὅτι ἤκουεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πώλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν[1] ἔδω-
36 κεν ἑκάστῳ πῶλον. ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ

[1] Before λοχαγῶν the MSS. have στρατηγῶν καὶ: Gem. brackets, following Matthias: Schenkl deletes καὶ λοχαγῶν.

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[1] See § 24 above.

kid, pork, veal, and poultry, together with many loaves of bread, some of wheat and some of barley. And whenever a man wanted out of good fellowship to drink another's health, he would draw him to the bowl, and then one had to stoop over and drink from it, sucking like an ox. To the village chief they offered the privilege of taking whatever he wanted. He declined for the most part to accept anything, but whenever he caught sight of one of his kinsmen, he would always take the man to his side. Again, when they reached Cheirisophus, they found his troops also feasting in their quarters, crowned with wreaths of hay and served by Armenian boys in their strange, foreign dress; and they were showing the boys what to do by signs, as if they were deaf and dumb.

As soon as Cheirisophus and Xenophon had exchanged warm greetings, they together asked the village chief, through their Persian-speaking interpreter, what this land was. He replied that it was Armenia. They asked him again for whom the horses were being reared. He answered, as tribute for the King; and he said that the neighbouring country was that of the Chalybians, and told them where the road was. Then Xenophon took the village chief back for the time to his own household, and gave him a horse that he had got when it was rather old, to fatten up and sacrifice, for he understood that it was sacred to the Sun-god. He did this out of fear that the horse might die, for it had been injured by the journey; and he took for himself one of the colts[1] and gave his captains also a colt apiece. The horses of this region were smaller than the Persian horses, but very much more

πολύ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμαρχος περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρός.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καταλείπει[1] πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος. τοῦτον δὲ Πλεισθένει Ἀμφιπολίτῃ δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο.

2 ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κώμαρχος λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἤγαγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.

3 ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισεν, ἔδησε δ' οὔ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Πλεισθένης δὲ ἠράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρῆτο.

4 Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν
5 ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς

[1] After καταλείπει the MSS. have τῷ κωμάρχῃ: Gem. brackets, following Rehdantz.

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[1] See § 28 above. [2] *Cp.* ii. 1.

spirited. It was here also that the village chief instructed them about wrapping small bags round the feet of their horses and beasts of burden when they were going through the snow; for without these bags the animals would sink in up to their bellies.

VI. When seven days had passed, Xenophon gave over the village chief to Cheirisophus to act as guide, leaving his family behind with the exception of his son, who was just coming into the prime of youth; this son he gave into the keeping of Pleisthenes of Amphipolis, in order that the father, if he should serve them well as guide, might take him also back with him. Then, after putting into his house as large a quantity of supplies as they could,[1] they broke camp and set out upon the march. The village chief, who was not bound,[2] guided their way through the snow; but by the time they were on the third stage Cheirisophus got angry with him for not leading them to villages. He replied that there were none in this region. Then Cheirisophus struck him, but neglected to bind him. The result was that he stole away during the night, leaving his son behind. And this was the only cause of difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the course of the march, this ill-treatment of the guide and carelessness in not guarding him. Pleisthenes, however, fell in love with the boy, took him home with him, and found him absolutely faithful.

After this they marched seven stages at the rate of five parasangs a day to the Phasis river, which was a plethrum in width. From there they marched two stages, ten parasangs; and on the pass leading over to the plain they encountered a body of

6 Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γέ-
7 νοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ βουλεύ-
8 εσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλεύεσθαι εἴτε τήμε-
9 ρον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς κράτιστα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἵ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες πολέμιοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

10 Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γιγνώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾷστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα
11 ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον πλέον ἢ ἐφ' ἑξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν ἀλλ'

[1] *i. e.* to bring companies which had been marching in column, viz. one behind another, into line abreast of one another.

Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. As soon as Cheirisophus caught sight of the enemy on the pass, he halted, while still at a distance of about thirty stadia, in order not to get near the enemy while his troops were marching in column; and he gave orders to the other officers also to move along their companies so as to bring the army into line of battle.[1] When the rearguard had come up, he called generals and captains together and spoke as follows: "The enemy, as you see, are in possession of the pass over the mountain, and it is time for us to take counsel as to how we can best make our fight. My own view is, that we should give orders to the soldiers to get their breakfast while we ourselves consider whether it is best to attempt to cross over the mountain to-day or to-morrow." "My opinion is," said Cleanor, "that as soon as we have breakfasted, we should arm ourselves and advance upon these men with all the strength we have. For if we waste this day, not only will the enemy who are now looking at us become bolder, but others, in greater numbers, when these are once emboldened, are likely to join them."

After Cleanor had spoken, Xenophon said: "And I think this way: if it is necessary for us to fight, our preparation should have this end in view, to make the strongest possible fight; but if we wish to effect a passage in the easiest way we can, then, in my opinion, our consideration should be on this point, how we may sustain the fewest wounds and sacrifice the fewest lives. Now this mountain—or the part of it that we see—extends over more than sixty stadia, but as for men to guard it against us, none are to be seen anywhere except on the

ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ
ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας
ἢ ἁρπάσαι φθάσαντας, ᾗ δυναίμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ
πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρεσκευ-
12 ασμένους μάχεσθαι. πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεὶ
ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων,
καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν
ὁρῴη τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα[1]
ἀμαχεὶ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφα-
13 λὰς βαλλομένοις. καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὁρᾶ-
σθαι, ἐξὸν δ' ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἴσθησιν
παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ' ἄν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιού-
μενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ὄρει χρῆσθαι·
μένοιεν γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἁθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι.
14 ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς
γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων εὐθὺς καὶ ἐκ παί-
δων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι
15 ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. ὅπως
δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε[2] καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθά-
νειν, νόμιμον παρ'[3] ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέ-
πτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρός
ἐστιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι

[1] After τραχεῖα the MSS. have τοῖς ποσὶν: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.

[2] κράτιστα κλέπτητε vulg., Mar.: τάχιστα κλέπτειν τε (καὶ πειρᾶσθαι) MSS.: τάχιστα κλέπτοντες Gem.

[3] παρ' Gem., following Rehdantz: μὲν γὰρ (or γὰρ) the better MSS.: ἄρα the inferior MSS., Mar.

road above; it is far better, therefore, to turn to the unoccupied part of the mountain and try either to steal a position by eluding the enemy's observation or to seize it by getting ahead of them, in whatever way we can, rather than to fight against strong places and men prepared. For it is far easier to march uphill without fighting than over level ground with enemies on this side and that; one can see what is in front of him more easily by night if he is not fighting than by day if he is fighting; and the rough road is more comfortable to men who are going over it without fighting than the smooth road to men who are being pelted on the head. And as for stealing a position, that does not seem to me impossible, for we can go during the night so as not to be seen, and we can get far enough away from the enemy so as not to be heard. I do think, however, that if we should make a feint of attacking here, we should find the rest of the mountain all the more deserted, for the enemy would be more likely to remain in a body where they are. But why should I be the man to make suggestions about stealing? For, as I hear, Cheirisophus, you Lacedaemonians, at least those among you who belong to the peers,[1] practise stealing even from childhood, and count it not disgraceful but honourable to steal anything that the law does not prevent you from taking. And in order that you may steal with all possible skill and may try not to be caught at it, it is the law of your land that, if you are caught stealing, you are flogged. Now, therefore, is just the time for you to display your training, and to take care that

[1] The Dorian aristocracy of Sparta.

μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς
λάβωμεν.
16 Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ
δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ κινδύνου τῷ
κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα,
εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε
17 ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν. Ἐγὼ
μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς
ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι
καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας·
οἱ γὰρ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἑπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλα-
βόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι
ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ
καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἐάνπερ ἅπαξ λάβωμέν τι τοῦ
18 ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. ἐλπίζω
δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν
ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν
19 ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ
Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἰέναι καὶ λιπεῖν
τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν
20 μή τινες ἐθέλοντες ἀγαθοὶ[1] φαίνωνται. ἐκ τού-
του Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὁπλίτας
ἔχων καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Χῖος γυμνῆτας καὶ Νικό-
μαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνῆτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιή-
σαντο, ὁπότε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά.
21 ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἠρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου
προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς

[1] ἐθέλοντες ἀγαθοὶ C$_1$, Mar.: ἐθελούσιοι the other MSS., Gem.

we do not get caught stealing any of the mountain, so that we shall not get a beating."

"Well, for all that," said Cheirisophus, "I hear on my side that you Athenians are terribly clever at stealing the public funds, even though it is terribly dangerous for the stealer, and, in fact, that your best people do it most, at least if they really are your best who are deemed worthy to rule; hence it is time for you also to be displaying your training." "Well," said Xenophon, "I am ready to set out with the rearguard, as soon as we have dined, to seize possession of the mountain. And I have guides, too; for the light troops set an ambush and captured some of the stealing rascals who are following us. From these fellows I also learn that the mountain is not impassable, but is pastured with goats and cattle; therefore if we once get possession of any part of the mountain, our pack animals also will find it passable. And I hope that the enemy will remove themselves from our way as soon as they see us on a level with them upon the heights; for they are not willing now to come down and meet us on our level." Then Cheirisophus said: "But why should you be the one to go, and leave your post with the rearguard? Send others rather, unless some good men offer themselves as volunteers." At that, Aristonymus of Methydrium, commanding hoplites, came forward, and Aristeas the Chian with light troops, and Nicomachus the Oetaean with light troops; and they made an agreement that as soon as they were in possession of the heights, they would kindle a number of fires. This agreement concluded, they proceeded to take breakfast; and immediately after breakfast Cheirisophus led

δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτῃ προσάξειν.

22 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νὺξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ἀπήρχοντο,[1] καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο τὸ ὄρος ἐχόμενον, ἐγρηγόρεσαν
23 καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ
24 τὰ ἄκρα ἐπῇσαν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων, συμμειγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν.
25 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο
26 σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις
27 κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. ὡς δ᾽ ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

VII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ

[1] ἀπήρχοντο the better MSS., Gem. : ᾤχοντο the inferior MSS., Mar.

the whole army forward about ten stadia toward the enemy, in order to make them quite certain that he was going to advance upon them by this road.

After they had had dinner and night had come on, the men appointed to the task set forward and gained possession of the mountain, while the remainder of the troops rested where they were. And when the enemy perceived that the mountain was occupied, they staid awake and kept many fires burning through the night. As soon as day came Cheirisophus offered sacrifice and led the army forward along the road, while the party that had seized the mountain advanced along the heights. As for the enemy, the majority remained at the pass over the mountain, but a part of them went to meet the detachment on the heights. Now before the two main bodies got near one another, those upon the heights came to close combat, and the Greeks were victorious and began their pursuit. Meanwhile the main body of the Greeks was moving upward from the plain, the peltasts charging at a run upon the enemy's battle-line and Cheirisophus following at a quick-step with the hoplites. But the enemy on the road no sooner saw their detachment on the heights being defeated than they took to flight; and while not many of them were killed, a great number of wicker shields were captured, which the Greeks rendered useless by slashing them with their sabres. When they had climbed to the top of the pass, after offering sacrifice and setting up a trophy they descended into the plain on the farther side, and reached villages full of many good things.

VII. After this they marched into the country of the Taochians five stages, thirty parasangs; and

ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπε· χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἅπαντα εἶχον
2 ἀνακεκομισμένοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας—συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά—Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῄει καὶ αὖθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπότομον ἦν κύκλῳ.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὁπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἥκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἱρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ
4 ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλῦον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδός ἐστιν ἣν ὁρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτῃ πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευ-
5 ράς. Ἢν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὡπλισμέ-
6 νους. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν· τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις

their provisions were running low, for the Taochians dwelt in strongholds, and in these strongholds they kept all their provisions stored away. Now when the Greeks arrived at one of them which contained no town nor houses, but was only a place where men and women and a great number of cattle were gathered, Cheirisophus proceeded to attack this stronghold as soon as he reached it; and when his first battalion grew weary, another advanced to the attack, and yet another; for it was not possible for them to surround the place in continuous line, because its sides were precipitous.

The moment Xenophon came up with the rear-guard, consisting of both peltasts and hoplites, Cheirisophus said to him: "You have come in the nick of time; for the place must be captured; for the army has no provisions unless we capture this place." Then they took counsel together, and when Xenophon asked what it was that prevented their effecting an entrance, Cheirisophus replied: "There is this one way of approach which you see, but when one tries to go along by this way, they roll down stones from this overhanging rock; and whoever gets caught, is served in this fashion"—and with the words he pointed out men with their legs and ribs crushed. "But suppose they use up their stones," said Xenophon, "there is nothing then, is there, to hinder one's passing? For surely there is nothing we can see on the other side except a few men yonder, and only two or three of them are armed. Furthermore, as you can see for yourself, the distance we must traverse under attack is about a plethrum and a half. Now as much as a plethrum of that distance is covered with tall, scattered pine

μεγάλαις, ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἑστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν.

7 Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὰν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἄν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἴη· θᾶττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἢν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον, ἢν βουλώμεθα.

8 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐχ ἁθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο.

9 Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις

10 ἑστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. ἔνθα δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶταί τι· προύτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ᾽ ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροιντο, ἀνέχαζεν εὐπετῶς· ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης δὲ τῆς προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν

11 ἀνηλίσκοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὗτος[1] πρῶτος παραδράμῃ εἰς τὸ

[1] οὗτος Gem., following Voigtländer: οὐ MSS., Mar.

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[1] viz. Callimachus' company.

trees, and if men should stand behind them, what harm could they suffer either from the flying stones or the rolling ones? The remaining space, then, amounts to about half a plethrum, and that we must cross on the run at a moment when the stones stop coming." "But," said Cheirisophus, "the very moment we begin to push out toward the trees, the stones fly in quantities." "Precisely the thing we want," said Xenophon, "for they will use up their stones the sooner. But let us make our way to a spot from which we shall have only a short distance to run across, in case we can do that, and an easy retreat, in case we choose to come back."

Thereupon Cheirisophus and Xenophon set forth, and with them Callimachus of Parrhasia, a captain; for he was the officer of the day in command of the captains of the rearguard; and the other captains remained in a place of safety. Following this lead about seventy men got out under shelter of the trees, not all together, but one by one, each protecting himself as best he could. But Agasias of Stymphalus and Aristonymus of Methydrium, who were likewise captains of the rearguard, and others also, took places outside the cover of the trees, for not more than the one company[1] could stand among them with safety. At that moment Callimachus hit upon a scheme: he would run forward two or three steps from the particular tree he was under and, when the stones began to fly, would draw back without any trouble; and at every one of his dashes more than ten cart-loads of stones would be used up. But when Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, with the whole army for spectators, he became fearful that the other would be the first to make the run

χωρίον, οὗ[1] τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα
παρακαλέσας οὐδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα
ἑταίρους ὄντας οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα χωρεῖ αὐτός,
12 καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς
ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς
ἴτυος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος
Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς·
πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς καὶ διηγω-
νίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες
αἱροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον,
οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη.

13 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες
ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παιδία εἶτα ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν,
καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνείας
Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδών τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα
ἑαυτὸν στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς
14 κωλύσων· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι
ᾤχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον.
ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν,
βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

15 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς
ἑπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν
διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ᾖσαν. εἶχον
δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἤτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν
16 πτερύγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. εἶχον δὲ
καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην
μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικήν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον

[1] οὗ Gem., following Rehdantz: οὐδὲ MSS., Mar.

across to the stronghold; so without asking Aristonymus or Eurylochus of Lusi (though the former was close by and both were his friends) or any one else to join him, he dashed forward himself and proceeded to go past everybody. Callimachus, however, when he saw him going by, seized the rim of his shield; and at that moment Aristonymus of Methydrium ran past both of them, and upon his heels Eurylochus of Lusi. For all these four were rivals in valour and continually striving with one another; and in thus contending they captured the stronghold, for once they had rushed in not a stone came down from above.

Then came a dreadful spectacle: the women threw their little children down from the rocks and then threw themselves down after them, and the men did likewise. In the midst of this scene Aeneas of Stymphalus, a captain, catching sight of a man, who was wearing a fine robe, running to cast himself down, seized hold of him in order to stop him; but the man dragged Aeneas along after him, and both went flying down the cliffs and were killed. In this stronghold only a very few human beings were captured, but they secured cattle and asses in large numbers and sheep.

From there they marched through the land of the Chalybians seven stages, fifty parasangs. These were the most valiant of all the peoples they passed through, and would come to hand-to-hand encounter. They had corselets of linen reaching down to the groin, with a thick fringe of plaited cords instead of flaps. They had greaves also and helmets, and at the girdle a knife about as long as a Laconian dagger, with which they would slaughter whomever

ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ᾖδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πέντε[1] πήχεων
17 μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἵποντο ἀεὶ μαχούμενοι. ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων
18 ἔλαβον. ἐκ τούτων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἅρπασον ποταμόν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

19 Ἐντεῦθεν διῆλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων[2] τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας
20 ἄγοι αὐτούς. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἴθειν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν·

[1] πέντε Gem., following Pätzolt: πεντεκαίδεκα MSS., Mar.
[2] ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων Gem., following Schneider: τῆς χώρας ὁ ἄρχων MSS., which Mar. follows, though marking the passage as corrupt.

they might be able to vanquish; then they would cut off their heads and carry them along on their march, and they would sing and dance whenever they were likely to be seen by the enemy. They carried also a spear about five cubits long, with a point at only one end.[1] These people would stay within their towns, and when the Greeks had passed by, they would follow them, always ready to fight. Their dwellings were in strongholds, and therein they had stored away all their provisions; hence the Greeks could get nothing in this country, but they subsisted on the cattle they had taken from the Taochians. Leaving this land, the Greeks arrived at the Harpasus river, which was four plethra in width. From there they marched through the territory of the Scythinians four stages, twenty parasangs, over a level plain, and they arrived at some villages, and there remained for three days and collected provisions.

From there they journeyed four stages, twenty parasangs, to a large and prosperous inhabited city which was called Gymnias. From this city the ruler of the land sent the Greeks a guide, in order to lead them through territory that was hostile to his own. When the guide came, he said that he would lead them within five days to a place from which they could see the sea;[2] if he failed to do so, he was ready to accept death. Thus taking the lead, as soon as he had brought them into the hostile territory, he kept urging them to spread abroad fire and ruin, thereby making it clear that it

[1] Xenophon doubtless remarks this fact because the Greek spear had a sharp point at the butt, to stick in the ground.

[2] *i. e.* the Euxine.

ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ
21 τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ
τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν
Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ
22 ὄρους,[1] κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾠήθησαν ἔμπρο-
σθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἵποντο γὰρ
ὄπισθεν ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ
ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐζώ-
γρησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον
23 δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ οἱ
ἀεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ βοῶντας
καὶ πολλῷ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἡ βοὴ ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους
ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μεῖζόν τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι,
24 καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ᾽ ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας
ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι
βοώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θάλαττα θάλαττα
καὶ παρεγγυώντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ
ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ
25 οἱ ἵπποι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον,
ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρα-
τηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἐξαπίνης
ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι
26 λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. ἐνταῦθα
ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλῆθος ὠμοβοείων καὶ
βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν

[1] After ὄρους all the MSS. except C_1 add καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, which Mar. retains.

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[1] The mountain which Xenophon seems to think he has already mentioned, as having been referred to by the guide.

was with this end in view that he had come, and not out of good-will toward the Greeks. On the fifth day they did in fact reach the mountain;[1] its name was Theches. Now as soon as the vanguard got to the top of the mountain, a great shout went up. And when Xenophon and the rearguard heard it, they imagined that other enemies were attacking in front; for enemies were following behind them from the district that was in flames, and the rearguard had killed some of them and captured others by setting an ambush, and had also taken about twenty wicker shields covered with raw, shaggy ox-hides. But as the shout kept getting louder and nearer, as the successive ranks that came up all began to run at full speed toward the ranks ahead that were one after another joining in the shout, and as the shout kept growing far louder as the number of men grew steadily greater, it became quite clear to Xenophon that here was something of unusual importance; so he mounted a horse, took with him Lycius and the cavalry, and pushed ahead to lend aid; and in a moment they heard the soldiers shouting, "The Sea! The Sea!" and passing the word along. Then all the troops of the rearguard likewise broke into a run, and the pack animals began racing ahead and the horses. And when all had reached the summit, then indeed they fell to embracing one another, and generals and captains as well, with tears in their eyes. And on a sudden, at the bidding of some one or other, the soldiers began to bring stones and to build a great cairn. Thereon they placed as offerings a quantity of raw ox-hides and walking-sticks and the captured wicker shields; and the guide not only cut these

αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
27 διεκελεύετο. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ᾔτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ᾤχετο [1] ἀπιών.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὥριζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν
2 Σκυθινῶν. εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὁρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὔ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτ' ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα
3 ἐξελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον· ἐξικνοῦντο γὰρ οὒ οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4 Ἔνθα δὴ προσέρχεται Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γιγνώσκοι τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ

[1] After ᾤχετο the MSS. have τῆς νυκτὸς: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

shields to pieces himself, but urged the others to do so.[1] After this the Greeks dismissed the guide with gifts from the common stock—a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ten darics; but what he particularly asked the men for was their rings, and he got a considerable number of them. Then he showed them a village to encamp in and the road they were to follow to the country of the Macronians, and, as soon as evening came, took his departure.

VIII. From there the Greeks marched through the country of the Macronians three stages, ten parasangs. On the first of these days they reached the river which separated the territory of the Macronians from that of the Scythinians. There they had on the right, above them, an exceedingly difficult bit of ground, and on the left another river, into which the boundary stream that they had to cross emptied. Now this stream was fringed with trees, not large ones, but of thick growth, and when the Greeks came up, they began felling them in their haste to get out of the place as speedily as possible. But the Macronians, armed with wicker shields and lances and hair tunics, were drawn up in line of battle opposite the place where the Greeks must cross, and they were cheering one another on and throwing stones, which fell into the stream; for they never reached the Greeks or did them any harm.

At this moment one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, a man who said that he had been a slave at Athens, with word that he knew the language of these people; "I think," he went on, "that this is my native country, and if there is nothing to hinder,

[1] Still trying to fulfil his real mission of harming his people's enemies. *Cp.* §§ 19–20 above.

5 μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. Ἀλλ᾽
οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μάθε
πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δ᾽ εἶπον ἐρωτήσαντος ὅτι
Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς τί ἀντι-
τετάχαται καὶ χρῄζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι.
6 οἱ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίναντο Ὅτι ὑμεῖς[1] ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν
χώραν ἔρχεσθε. λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ
ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολε-
μήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ
7 θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. ἠρώτων ἐκεῖνοι
εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ᾽ ἔφασαν καὶ
δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν οἱ
Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικήν· ταῦτα γὰρ
ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ᾽ ἐπεμαρτύραντο
ἀμφότεροι.[2]
8 Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ
δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον τήν τε ὁδὸν ὡδοποίουν ὡς
διαβιβάσοντες ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμειγμένοι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ
παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων
9 ὅρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἐνταῦθα ἦν
ὄρος μέγα·[3] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρα-
τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες
πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
βουλεύσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα
ἀγωνιοῦνται.

[1] ὑμεῖς C_1, Gem.: καὶ ὑμεῖς the other MSS., Mar.
[2] ἀμφότεροι is omitted in C_1, which Gem. follows.
[3] μέγα C_1, Gem.: μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ the other MSS., Mar.

I should like to have a talk with them." "Well, there is nothing to hinder," said Xenophon; "so talk with them, and learn, to begin with, who they are." In reply to his inquiry they said, "Macronians." "Well, then," said Xenophon, "ask them why they are arrayed against us and want to be our enemies." They replied, "Because you are coming against our land." The generals directed the man to say, "We have not come to do you any harm whatever, but we have been at war with the King and are on our way back to Greece, and we want to reach the sea." The Macronians asked whether they would give pledges to this effect. They replied that they were ready both to give and to receive pledges. Thereupon the Macronians gave the Greeks a barbarian lance and the Greeks gave them a Greek lance, for the Macronians said that these were pledges; and both sides called the gods to witness.

After this exchange of pledges the Macronians at once began to help the Greeks cut down the trees and to build the road in order to get them across, mingling freely with the Greeks; and they supplied as good a market[1] as they could, and conducted the Greeks on their way for three days, until they brought them to the boundaries of the Colchians. At this place was a great mountain, and upon this mountain the Colchians were drawn up in line of battle. At first the Greeks formed an opposing line of battle, with the intention of advancing in this way upon the mountain, but afterwards the generals decided to gather together and take counsel as to how they could best make the contest.

[1] See note on I. ii. 18.

10 Ἔλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὅτι δοκοίη παύσαντας
τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν
γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ
ἄνοδον τῇ δὲ εὔοδον εὑρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθὺς
τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φά-
11 λαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὁρῶσιν. ἔπειτα ἂν
μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιτ-
τεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς
χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγων
τεταγμένοι ὦμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακο-
πείη ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων καὶ βελῶν καὶ
ἀνθρώπων[1] πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δέ πῃ τοῦτο
12 ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. ἀλλά μοι
δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους τοσοῦτον
χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις ὅσον
ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολε-
μίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν
πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω,[2] καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες
οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ᾗ τε ἂν
13 εὔοδον ᾖ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λοχαγός.[3] καὶ
εἴς τε τὸ διαλεῖπον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις
εἰσελθεῖν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι
τε οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται λόχον ὄρθιον προσιόντα. ἄν
τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθή-
σει. ἤν τε εἷς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ

[1] καὶ ἀνθρώπων is omitted in C_1, which Gem. follows.

[2] After ἔξω the MSS. have οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Cobet.

[3] ὁ λοχαγός Gem., following Krüger: the MSS. have ὁ λόχος, which Mar. retains but brackets.

Xenophon accordingly said that in his opinion they should give up the line of battle and form the companies in column.[1] "For the line," he continued, "will be broken up at once; for we shall find the mountain hard to traverse at some points and easy at others; and the immediate result will be discouragement, when men who are formed in line of battle see the line broken up. Furthermore, if we advance upon them formed in a line many ranks deep, the enemy will outflank us, and will use their outflanking wing for whatever purpose they please; on the other hand, if we are formed in a line a few ranks deep, it would be nothing surprising if our line should be cut through by a multitude both of missiles and men falling upon us in a mass; and if this happens at any point, it will be bad for the whole line. But it seems to me we should form the companies in column and, by leaving spaces between them, cover enough ground so that the outermost companies should get beyond the enemy's wings; in this way not only shall we outflank the enemy's line, but advancing in column our best men will be in the van of the attack, and wherever it is good going, there each captain will lead forward his men. And it will not be easy for the enemy to push into the space between the columns when there are companies on this side and that, and not any easier for him to cut through a company that is advancing in column. Again, if any one of the companies is hard pressed, its neighbour will come to its aid; and if one single company can somehow climb to the

[1] See vi. 6, and note. Of course it is the opposite movement that is now in contemplation.

ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολε-
μίων.

14 Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους.
Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ
δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί
εἰσιν οὓς ὁρᾶτε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ ἤδη
εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαι σπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἤν πως
δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὠμοὺς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς
λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι
τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος
ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελτα-
στὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς
μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς
16 δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. ἐκ
τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὔχεσθαι·
εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ
Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς
πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω
17 γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον
αὐτούς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ
δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διεσπάσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς
αὑτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν.
18 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν
Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακρα-

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[1] Cheirisophus was commander of the van, Xenophon of the rear. The van of an army on the march became the right wing of the line of battle and the rear the left wing. It was at Cheirisophus' post, on the right, that the council was held.

[2] A phrase as old as Homer (Δ 35).

[3] A total of 8000 as compared with an original strength of 11,700.

summit, not a man of the enemy will stand any longer."

This plan was decided upon, and they proceeded to form the companies in column. And as Xenophon was going back from the right wing to the left,[1] he said to the troops: "Soldiers, these men yonder whom you see are the only ones who still stand in the way of our being forthwith at the place we have long been striving to reach; if we possibly can, we must simply eat these fellows raw."[2]

When the officers had got to their several positions and had formed their companies in column, the result was about eighty companies of hoplites with each company numbering close upon one hundred;[3] the peltasts and the bowmen, on the other hand, they formed in three divisions, one beyond the left wing of the hoplites, the second beyond the right, and the third in the centre, each division numbering about six hundred men.[4] After this the generals passed along the order to offer prayer, and when they had prayed and sung the paean they set forth. Now Cheirisophus and Xenophon[5] and the peltasts with them got beyond the wings of the enemy's line in their advance; and when the enemy saw this, they ran out, some to the right and others to the left, to confront them, with the result that their line was pulled apart and a large portion of it in the centre was left deserted. Then the peltasts of the Arcadian division, who were commanded by Aeschines the Acarnanian, getting the idea that the

[4] One thousand eight hundred as compared with an original 2300.

[5] On the right and left wings respectively. See note on § 14 above.

γόντες ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὁπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος.
19 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τἀπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχού-
20 σαις. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἤμουν καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐῴκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ
21 ἀποθνῄσκουσιν. ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδείς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτήν πως ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας ἑπτά, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα ἐν
23 ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλῄζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. ἀγορὰν δὲ παρεῖχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζούντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ

enemy were in flight, set up a shout and began to run; and they were the first to reach the summit of the mountain, while following close after them came the Arcadian division of hoplites, under the command of Cleanor of Orchomenus. As for the enemy, once the peltasts began to run they no longer stood their ground, but betook themselves hither and thither in flight.

After accomplishing the ascent the Greeks took up quarters in numerous villages, which contained provisions in abundance. Now for the most part there was nothing here which they really found strange; but the swarms of bees in the neighbourhood were numerous, and the soldiers who ate of the honey all went off their heads, and suffered from vomiting and diarrhoea, and not one of them could stand up, but those who had eaten a little were like people exceedingly drunk, while those who had eaten a great deal seemed like crazy, or even, in some cases, dying men. So they lay there in great numbers as though the army had suffered a defeat, and great despondency prevailed. On the next day, however, no one had died, and at approximately the same hour as they had eaten the honey they began to come to their senses; and on the third or fourth day they got up, as if from a drugging.

From there they marched two stages, seven parasangs, and reached the sea at Trapezus, an inhabited Greek city on the Euxine Sea, a colony of the Sinopeans in the territory of Colchis. There they remained about thirty days in the villages of the Colchians, and from these as a base plundered Colchis. And the Trapezuntians supplied a market for the army, received the Greeks kindly, and gave them oxen, barley-meal, and wine as gifts of

24 οἶνον· συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.

25 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ηὔξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ σωτήρια[1] καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἃ ηὔξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακανὼν ξυήλῃ πατάξας, δρόμου τ᾽ ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ
26 ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὗπερ ἑστηκότες ἐτύγχανον Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἄν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ᾽ εἶπε· Μᾶλλόν
27 τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. ἠγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρῆτες πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα,[2] πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον,[3] καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο.

[1] σωτήρια Gem., following Cobet: τῷ σωτῆρι MSS.
[2] After ἑξήκοντα the MSS. have ἔθεον: Gem. brackets, following Krüger.
[3] After παγκράτιον MS. C has ἕτεροι, which Mar. prints, but regards as corrupt: Gem. reads Ἀρκάδες, following Matthias.

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[1] See III. ii. 9.
[2] The hides of the sacrificial victims, which were to be offered as prizes in the games. *Cp. Iliad*, X 159.
[3] The regular short race in the Greek games, corresponding closely to our 220 yards dash.

hospitality. They likewise took part in negotiations with the Greeks in behalf of the near-by Colchians, who dwelt for the most part on the plain, and from these people also the Greeks received hospitable gifts of oxen.

After this they made ready the sacrifice which they had vowed;[1] and a sufficient number of oxen had come to them so that they could pay their thank-offerings to Zeus for deliverance, to Heracles for guidance, and to the other gods according as they had vowed. They instituted also athletic games on the mountain side, just where they were encamped; and they chose Dracontius, a Spartan, who had been exiled from home as a boy because he had accidentally killed another boy with the stroke of a dagger, to look out for a race-course and to act as manager of the games. When, accordingly, the sacrifice had been completed, they turned over the hides[2] to Dracontius and bade him lead the way to the place he had fixed upon for his race-course. He pointed out the precise spot where they chanced to be standing, and said, "This hill is superb for running, wherever you please." "How, then," they said, "can men wrestle on ground so hard and overgrown as this is?" And he replied, "The one that is thrown will get hurt a bit more." The events were, a stadium race[3] for boys, most of them belonging to the captives, a long race,[4] in which more than sixty Cretans took part, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium;[5] and it made a fine spectacle; for

[4] The δόλιχος seems to have varied from six to twenty-four stadia.

[5] A combination of boxing and wrestling.

πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν καὶ ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν
28 ἑταίρων πολλὴ φιλονικία ἐγίγνετο. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀποστρέψαντας πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόγις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο.

[1] The altar on which the sacrifices had been offered served as a starting-point for the races.

there were a great many entries and, inasmuch as the comrades of the contestants were looking on, there was a great deal of rivalry. There were horse-races also, and the riders had to drive their horses down the steep slope, turn them around on the shore, and bring them back again to the altar.[1] And on the way down most of the horses rolled over and over, while on the way up, against the exceedingly steep incline, they found it hard to keep on at a walk; so there was much shouting and laughter and cheering.

BOOK V

E

2 I. [1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθοντες ἐβουλεύοντο
περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Λέων
Θούριος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη,
ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος καὶ
βαδίζων καὶ τρέχων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φέρων καὶ
ἐν τάξει ὢν καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων καὶ μαχό-
μενος, ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν
πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν
καὶ ἐκταθεὶς ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφικέσθαι εἰς
3 τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται
ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ λέγει· καὶ ἄλλος ταὐτὰ
ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παριόντες. ἔπειτα δὲ
4 Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε. Φίλος μοί
ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ καὶ
τυγχάνει. ἢν οὖν πέμψητέ με, οἴομαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν
καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα·
ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε ἔστ'

[1] The summary prefixed to Book V. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν ἃ ηὔξαντο σωτήρια θύσειν ἔνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοιντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

BOOK V

I. [1] After this they gathered together and proceeded to take counsel in regard to the remainder of their journey; and the first man to get up was Leon of Thurii, who spoke as follows: "Well, I, for my part, gentlemen," he said, "am tired by this time of packing up and walking and running and carrying my arms and being in line and standing guard and fighting, and what I long for now is to be rid of these toils, since we have the sea, and to sail the rest of the way, and so reach Greece stretched out on my back, like Odysseus."[2] Upon hearing these words the soldiers shouted out that he was quite right; and another man said the same thing, and in fact all who rose to speak. Then Cheirisophus got up and spoke as follows: "I have a friend Anaxibius, gentlemen, and he happens also to be Admiral.[3] So if you will send me to him, I presume I can bring back with me ships of war and merchant vessels to carry us; for yourselves, if you really wish to go by sea, wait until I return; and I

[1] Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did on their upward march with Cyrus and on their journey to the shore of the Euxine Sea, how they arrived at the Greek city of Trapezus, and how they paid the thankofferings for deliverance which they had vowed to sacrifice at the place where they should first reach a friendly land.

[2] See *Odyssey*, *ν* 75–118.

[3] Not "an" admiral, for *ναύαρχος* was the distinctive title of the commanding officer of the Lacedaemonian fleet.

ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἥξω δὲ ταχέως. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα
οἱ στρατιῶται ἥσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν
αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα.
5 Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
Χειρίσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ
ἀναμενοῦμεν. ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι
6 ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε
γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα
εὐπορία εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία·
κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢν ἀμελῶς
τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
7 ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡς σῴζησθε,
ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἔδοξε ταῦτα.
8 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τάδε. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ
ὑμῶν ἐκπορεύσονταί τινες. οἴομαι οὖν βέλτιστον
εἶναι ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, φράζειν δὲ
καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων
καὶ τῶν μενόντων καὶ ξυμπαρασκευάζωμεν, ἐάν τι
δέῃ, κἂν βοηθῆσαί τισι καιρὸς ᾖ, εἰδῶμεν ὅποι
δεήσει βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων
ἐγχειρῇ ποι, ξυμβουλεύωμεν πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι
τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.
9 Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. σχολὴ τοῖς πολε-

shall return speedily." When they heard this, the soldiers were delighted, and voted that Cheirisophus should set sail with all speed.

After him Xenophon rose and spoke as follows: "Cheirisophus, then, is setting off after ships, and we are to stay here; I am going to speak, therefore, of all the things that it seems to me proper for us to be doing while we wait. In the first place, we must obtain provisions from hostile territory, for we neither have an adequate market, nor have we, with some few exceptions, the means wherewith to buy; but the territory is hostile, and hence there is danger that many of you will perish if you set out after provisions carelessly and unguardedly. Rather, it seems to me that you ought to get your provisions in foraging parties and not roam about at random, in order that you may be kept safe, and that we generals ought to have charge of this matter." This proposal was adopted.

"Listen, then, to this further point. Some of you are to journey forth after plunder. Now I think it is best for the man who is going out to inform us of the fact and to tell us also whither he is going, in order that we may know the number of men who are going out and the number who are staying behind; then we can help, if need be, in making preparations, and if there be occasion to go to any one's assistance, we shall know whither we are to go with such assistance, and if a man who is without experience is making an attempt in any quarter, we can advise him by trying to ascertain the strength of those against whom he may be going." This proposal also was adopted.

"Then," he said, "consider this matter also. Our

μίοις λήζεσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν·
ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται δὲ ἡμῶν.
φυλακὰς δή μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
εἶναι· ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ μέρος φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκο-
πῶμεν, ἧττον ἂν δύναιντο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι.
10 Ἔτι τοίνυν τάδε ὁρᾶτε. εἰ μὲν ἠπιστάμεθα
σαφῶς ὅτι ἥξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὧν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο
ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρα-
σκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἄγῃ,[1] ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἐνθάδε ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσόμεθα· ἂν
11 δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. ὁρῶ δὲ ἐγὼ
πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι
παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα κατάγοιμεν
καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ[2] πηδάλια παραλυό-
μενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν
οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς οἵας δεόμεθα. ἔδοξε καὶ
ταῦτα.

12 Ἐννοήσατε δ᾽, ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ οὓς ἂν κατάγωμεν ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.

13 Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἢν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς

[1] ἄγῃ Gem., following Eberhard: ἔλθῃ MSS., Mar.
[2] αὐτὰ τὰ the inferior MSS., Mar: αὐτὰ the better MSS.: τὰ Gem., following Hartman.

enemies have leisure for plundering and they are plotting against us—quite properly, seeing that we have appropriated what was theirs; and they are posted up above us. So it seems to me that we ought to have guards around our camp; supposing, then, that we take turns in standing guard and keeping watch, the enemy would be less able to harry us.

"Here is still another point to note. If we knew beyond doubt that Cheirisophus would bring back with him an adequate number of ships, there would be no need of what I am about to say; but since in fact that is uncertain, I think we should try to do our part by procuring ships here also. For if he does bring enough, then with those at hand here we shall have a more abundant supply to sail in, while if he does not, we shall use those which we have here. Now I see ships sailing past frequently, and if we can get the Trapezuntians to give us men-of-war and so bring these ships into port and keep them under guard, unshipping their rudders meanwhile, until we get enough to carry us, perhaps we should not lack such means of transport as we need." This proposal also was adopted.

"Again," he said, "do you not think it reasonable that we should maintain from our common fund the sailors we thus bring into port for as long a time as they may be waiting for our sakes, and that we should agree upon a price for our passage, so that in conferring a benefit upon us they may also benefit themselves?" This proposal also was adopted.

"Now it seems to me," he continued, "that if perchance this plan also shall fail to provide us with enough ships, we must turn to the roads, which we

δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν
οἰκούσαις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πεί-
σονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βού-
λεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
14 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν.
ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν
οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἑκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν,
λέγων ὅτι θᾶττον ἀπαλλάξονται, ἢν εὔποροι γέ-
15 νωνται αἱ ὁδοί. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον
παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ᾗ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον
Λάκωνα περίοικον. οὗτος ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν
πλοῖα ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν
ναῦν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν
Θρᾴκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέ-
16 θανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ
τριακόντορον, ᾗ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος,
ὃς ὁπόσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα εἴ τι ἦγον ἐξαιρού-
μενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη, τοῖς
17 δὲ πλοίοις χρήσαιντο[1] εἰς παραγωγήν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
ταῦτα ἦν ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῇσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὔ. Κλεαίνετος δὲ ἐξα-
γαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς
χωρίον χαλεπὸν αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν

[1] χρήσαιντο the better MSS., Gem.: ἐχρήσαντο the inferior MSS., Mar.

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[1] The perioeci were the inhabitants of the outlying Laconian towns; they were free, but not Spartan citizens.

[2] See VII. ii. 31–34.

hear are difficult to travel, and direct the cities that are situated along the sea to repair them; for they will obey, not only from fear, but also from the desire to be rid of us."

At this the soldiers set up a shout, saying that they did not want to go by land. And Xenophon, realizing their foolishness, did not put any proposal regarding this matter to vote, but persuaded the cities to repair the roads voluntarily, urging that they would be rid of the army the more quickly if the roads should be made easy to travel. Furthermore, they got a fifty-oared warship from the Trapezuntians, and put it under the command of Dexippus, a Laconian perioecus.[1] This fellow, however, paying no heed to the duty of collecting vessels, slipped away with his man-of-war and left the Euxine. He did indeed get his deserts afterwards; for while engaged in some intrigue at the court of Seuthes[2] in Thrace he was killed by Nicander the Laconian. They also got a thirty-oared galley, and put it under the command of Polycrates the Athenian, who brought in to the camp all the merchant vessels that he captured. And they would unload the cargoes, in case the ships had any, and put them under guard, in order to keep these safe and to use the vessels themselves for transport service. While these things were going on, the Greeks were making forays in quest of booty, and while some parties would secure it, others did not. And in one case, when Cleaenetus led forth his own company and another against a difficult stronghold, the commander himself was killed and many of his men besides.

II. The time came when it was no longer possible

ὥστε ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ
τούτου λαβὼν Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπε-
ζουντίων ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύ-
ματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν
οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ
2 τῶν ἄκρων. οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ῥᾴδιον ἦν λαβεῖν οὐκ ἦγον· φίλοι γὰρ
αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς δὲ τοὺς Δρίλας προθύμως ἦγον,
ὑφ᾽ ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ
δύσβατα καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν
τῷ Πόντῳ.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ὁποῖα τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἁλώσιμα εἶναι
ἐδόκει ἐμπιμπράντες ἀπῇσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμ-
βάνειν εἰ μὴ ὗς ἢ βοῦς ἢ ἄλλο τι κτῆνος τὸ πῦρ
διαπεφευγός. ἓν δὲ ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν·
εἰς τοῦτο πάντες ξυνερρυήκεσαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦτο
ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι χα-
4 λεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ προδρα-
μόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἓξ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, διαβάντες
τὴν χαράδραν, ὁρῶντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
χρήματα προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον· ξυνεί-
ποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
ἐξωρμημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες πλείους
5 ἢ εἰς χιλίους ἀνθρώπους.[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι οὐκ
ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τάφρος ἦν

[1] εἰς χιλίους ἀνθρώπους Gem., following a single MS. : δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους the better MSS. : δισχίλιοι ἄνθρωποι Mar., following Matthias.

to obtain provisions and return to the camp on the same day. Then Xenophon took some Trapezuntians for guides and led forth half the army to the country of the Drilae, leaving the other half behind to guard the camp—because the Colchians, since they had been driven out of their houses, were now gathered together in one great body and had taken a position on the heights above the camp. For the Trapezuntians would not lead the Greeks to districts from which provisions could be secured easily, because they were friendly to the people of those districts; but they were eager to lead them into the territory of the Drilae, at whose hands they were continually suffering losses, though their country was mountainous and difficult to traverse and its inhabitants the most warlike of all that dwell upon the Euxine.

When the Greeks had reached the highlands, the Drilae set fire to such of their strongholds as seemed to them easy to capture, and fell back; and the Greeks could secure nothing except an occasional pig or ox or other animal that had escaped the fire. There was one stronghold, however, which was their metropolis, and into this they had all streamed. Around it was an exceedingly deep ravine, and the approaches to the place were difficult. Now the peltasts, who had run five or six stadia ahead of the hoplites, crossed this ravine and, seeing quantities of sheep and other property, essayed an attack upon the stronghold; in their train there followed a considerable number of spearmen who had set out after provisions, so that the party that crossed the ravine amounted to more than a thousand men. But when they found themselves unable with all their fighting to capture the place (for there was a wide trench

περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη καὶ σκόλοπες
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι
πεποιημέναι, ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέ-
6 κειντο αὐτοῖς. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀποτρέχειν,
ἦν γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἡ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν
χαράδραν, πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα· ὁ δὲ ἡγεῖτο
7 τοῖς ὁπλίταις. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει ὅτι ἔστι χωρίον
χρημάτων πολλῶν μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν
δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γάρ ἐστιν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν
ῥᾴδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ ἡ
ἄφοδος χαλεπή.

8 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προσαγαγὼν πρὸς
τὴν χαράδραν τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε
τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐσκο-
πεῖτο πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ τοὺς
διαβεβηκότας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας διαβιβάζειν, ὡς
9 ἁλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπα-
γαγεῖν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἑλεῖν δ᾽
ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὁ Ξενο-
φῶν ξυνεχώρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ
μάντεις ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν ὅτι μάχη μὲν ἔσται,
10 τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
λοχαγοὺς ἔπεμπε διαβιβάσοντας τοὺς ὁπλίτας,
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελτα-
11 στάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἴα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ᾽
ἧκον οἱ ὁπλῖται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον
ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται

around it, backed by a rampart, and upon the rampart palisades had been set and wooden towers constructed at frequent intervals), their next move was to try to withdraw; and then the enemy pressed hard upon them. To get away by running proved impossible, inasmuch as the descent from the stronghold to the ravine only allowed them to go in single file, and they accordingly sent a messenger to Xenophon, who was at the head of the hoplites. The messenger came and reported: "There is a stronghold full of all kinds of stores. We cannot capture it, for it is strong; and we cannot easily get away, for the defenders rush out and attack us, and the road that leads back is a difficult one."

Upon hearing this message Xenophon led on to the ravine, ordered the hoplites to halt there under arms, and himself crossed over with the captains and looked about to see whether it was better to withdraw the troops that had already crossed, or to lead over the hoplites also, on the presumption that the stronghold could be captured. The withdrawal, it seemed clear, could not be accomplished without the loss of many lives, while the capture of the place, in the opinion of the captains, was feasible, and Xenophon fell in with their opinion, in reliance upon his sacrifices; for the seers had declared that while there would be fighting to do, the issue of the expedition would be fortunate. Accordingly he sent the captains to bring over the hoplites, while he himself remained on the further side, having drawn back the entire body of peltasts and forbidding any one to shoot at long range. Upon the arrival of the hoplites he ordered each of the captains to form his company in the way he thought it would fight most

ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων οἳ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο.
12 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγειλε διηγκυλωμένους ἰέναι, ὡς ὁπόταν σημήνῃ ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλῆσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὡς ὁπόταν σημήνῃ τοξεύειν,[1] καὶ τοὺς γυμνῆτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολόχαγοι καὶ οἱ ἀξιοῦντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων· μηνοειδὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν·
14 ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὁπλῖται, καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχαι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόναι, πλεῖστοι δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι, ἦσαν δὲ οἳ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον.
15 ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμιοι τά τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καταθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἄλλον[2] εἷλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀνεβεβήκει, καὶ ἑαλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἐδόκει.

16 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐσδραμόντες ἥρπαζον ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν

[1] After τοξεύειν the MSS. have δεῆσον: Gem. brackets, following Rehdantz.

[2] ἄλλον the better MSS., Gem.: ἄλλος ἄλλον the inferior MSS., Mar.

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[1] A formation which the captains judged to be the "most effective" (§ 11 above).

effectively; for near one another were the captains who had all the time been vieing with one another in valour. This order they proceeded to carry out, and meanwhile Xenophon passed word to all the peltasts to advance with hand on the thong, so that they could discharge their javelins when the signal should be given, to the bowmen to have their arrows upon the string, ready to shoot upon the signal, and to the slingers to have their bags full of stones; and he despatched the proper persons to look after all these things.

When all preparations had been made and the captains, lieutenants, and those among the men who claimed to be not inferior to them in bravery were all grouped together in the line[1] and, moreover, watching one another (for the line was crescent-shaped, to conform with the position they were attacking), then they struck up the paean and the trumpet sounded, and then, at the same moment, they raised the war cry to Enyalius, the hoplites charged forward on the run, and the missiles began to fly all together--spears, arrows, sling-stones, and very many stones thrown by hand, while some of the men employed firebrands also. By reason of the quantity of the missiles the enemy abandoned both their ramparts and their towers, so that Agasias the Stymphalian, putting aside his arms and clad only in his tunic, climbed up, then pulled up another man, and meanwhile another had made the climb, so that the capture of the stronghold was accomplished, as it seemed.

Thereupon the peltasts and the light troops rushed in and proceeded to snatch whatever plunder they severally could; but Xenophon, taking his stand at

στὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυσε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔξω· πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ᾽ ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς.

17 οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μεταξὺ γενομένου κραυγή τε ἐγένετο ἔνδον καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, τάχα δέ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἔνδον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἳ παίουσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς ἔνδον ἀνθρώπους.

18 ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα ἰέναι εἴσω τὸν βουλόμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. καὶ ἵενται πολλοὶ εἴσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσωθούμενοι καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν.

19 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν.

20 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής, ἄλλως δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοπουμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον.

21 Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς διῄρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος καταλιπόντες

22 οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρ-

the gates, kept out as many as he could of the hoplites, for the reason that other enemies were coming into view upon certain strong heights. After no long interval a shout arose within and men came pouring forth in flight, some carrying with them what they had seized, then soon a number of men that were wounded; and there was a deal of pushing about the gates. When those who were tumbling out were questioned, they said that there was a citadel within, that the enemy were numerous, and that they had sallied forth and were dealing blows upon the men inside. Then Xenophon ordered Tolmides the herald to proclaim that whoever wanted to get any plunder should go in. At that many proceeded to rush into the gates, and the crowd that was pushing in overcame the crowd that was tumbling out and shut up the enemy again in their citadel. So everything outside the citadel was seized and carried off by the Greeks, and the hoplites took up their position, some about the ramparts, others along the road leading up to the citadel. Meanwhile Xenophon and the captains were looking to see whether it was possible to capture the citadel, for in that case their safety was secured, while otherwise they thought it would be very difficult to effect their withdrawal; but the upshot of their consideration was, that the place was quite impregnable.

Then they made preparations for the withdrawal: they tore down the palisades, each division taking those on its own front, and sent off the men who were unfit for service or were carrying burdens, and likewise the greater part of the hoplites, the captains keeping behind only those troops that they each relied upon. But the moment they began to retire,

ξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ γέρρα
καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη
Παφλαγονικά, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαι-
νον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερού-
23 σης ὁδοῦ· ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν κατὰ
τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας. καὶ γὰρ
ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν
ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νὺξ φοβερὰ ἦν
ἐπιοῦσα.

24 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων θεῶν
τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. ἐξαπίνης
γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὅτου δὴ ἐνά-
ψαντος. ὡς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ
25 τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν
τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἳ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ
ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο. ἔφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων
26 τῶν οἰκιῶν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι
ἐλύπουν καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείσονται ἐν τῇ
ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει
φορεῖν ξύλα ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βελῶν
εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἱκανὰ ἤδη ἦν, ἐνῆψαν· ἐνῆπτον δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ'
αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμιοι
27 ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ

there rushed out upon them from within a great crowd of men armed with wicker shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets, while others set about climbing to the tops of the houses that were on either side of the road leading up to the citadel. The result was that even a pursuit in the direction of the gates that led into the citadel was unsafe; for they would hurl down great logs from above, so that it was difficult either to remain or to retire. And the approach of night was also a cause for fear.

In the midst of their fighting and perplexity some god gave to the Greeks a means of salvation. For of a sudden one of the houses on the right, set on fire by somebody or other, broke into a blaze; and as it began to fall in, there began a general flight from the other houses on the right side of the road. The moment Xenophon grasped this lesson which chance had given him, he gave orders to set fire to the houses on the left also, which were of wood and so fell to burning very quickly. The result was that the people in these houses likewise took to flight. It was only the enemy in their front who were now left to trouble the Greeks and manifestly intended to attack them as they passed out and down the hill. At this stage Xenophon sent out orders that all who chanced to be out of range of the missiles should set about bringing up logs and put them in the open space between their own forces and the enemy. As soon as enough logs had been collected, they set fire to them; and meanwhile they set fire also to the houses which were close along the palisade, so that the enemy's attention might be occupied with these. It was in this way that they effected, with difficulty,

χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων
ποιησάμενοι. καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ
αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ
τἆλλα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας.
28 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῇσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχοντες
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο
τὴν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πρανὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενή,
29 ψευδενέδραν ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς καὶ
τοὔνομα τοῦτο ἔχων τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν δέκα
ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς
πολεμίους πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλται
αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε διεφαίνοντο χαλκαῖ
30 οὖσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι ταῦτα διορῶντες ἐφο-
βοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν οὖσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ
κατέβαινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυ-
θέναι, τῷ Μυσῷ ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος·
31 καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρῆτες, ἁλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ
δρόμῳ, ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς
32 νάπας καλινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν, ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ
τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγων ἐβόα βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἐβοήθησαν
αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ
πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ
ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν Κρητῶν. οὕτως ἀφί-
κοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἧκεν οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι,

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[1] Which itself means "Mysian"—just as "English" might be the family name of an Englishman.
[2] See i. 4. [3] i. 10–16.

their withdrawal from the stronghold, by putting fire between themselves and the enemy. And the whole city was burned down, houses, towers, palisades, and everything else except the citadel.

On the next day the Greeks were for returning to camp with their provisions. But inasmuch as they feared the descent to Trapezus (for the way was steep and narrow), they laid a sham ambuscade: a man of Mysia, who likewise bore the name of Mysus,[1] took ten of the Cretans, stayed behind in a bit of undergrowth, and pretended to be trying to keep out of sight of the enemy; but their shields, which were of bronze, would now and then gleam through the bushes. So the enemy, catching glimpses of these proceedings, were fearful that it was an ambuscade; and meanwhile the Greek army was making its descent. When it seemed that they had got down far enough, a signal was given to the Mysian to flee at the top of his speed, and he and his companions arose and took to flight. The Cretans of the party (finding, as they said, that they were like to be overtaken in the running) plunged out of the road into the woods, and by tumbling down through the ravines made their escape, but the Mysian held to the road in his flight and kept shouting for help; and they did go to his aid, and picked him up wounded. Then the rescuers in their turn proceeded to retreat, faces to the front, while the enemy kept throwing missiles at them and some of the Cretans replied with their arrows. In this way they all reached the camp safe and sound.

III. And now, seeing that Cheirisophus was not returned,[2] that they had not an adequate number of ships,[3] and that it was no longer possible to get

ἐδόκει ἀπιτέον εἶναι. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τούς τε ἀσθενοῦντας ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν. καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰσβιβάσαντες τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖ-
2 σθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὡδοποιημένη ἦν. καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Σινωπέων ἄποικον ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρᾳ.
3 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπό τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ.

4 Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου
5 Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὑτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανεν· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ.
6 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτ᾽ ἀπῄει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν,

provisions, they resolved to depart by land. On board the ships they embarked the sick, those who were more than forty years of age, the women and children, and all the baggage which they did not need to keep with them. They put aboard also Philesius and Sophaenetus, the eldest of the generals, and bade them take charge of the enterprise; then the rest took up the march, the road having been already constructed.[1] And on the third day of their journey they reached Cerasus, a Greek city on the sea, being a colony planted by the Sinopeans in the territory of Colchis. There they remained ten days; and the troops were reviewed under arms and numbered, and there proved to be eight thousand six hundred men.[2] So many were left alive. The rest had perished at the hands of the enemy or in the snow, a few also by disease.

There, also, they divided the money received from the sale of the booty. And the tithe, which they set apart for Apollo and for Artemis of the Ephesians, was distributed among the generals, each taking his portion to keep safely for the gods; and the portion that fell to Cheirisophus was given to Neon the Asinaean. As for Xenophon, he caused a votive offering to be made out of Apollo's share of his portion and dedicated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing upon it his own name and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus;[3] for Proxenus was his friend.[4] The share which belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians he left behind, at the time when he was returning from Asia with Agesilaus to take part in the campaign

[1] i. 13–14.
[2] *cp.* IV. viii. 15 and notes thereon.
[3] II. v.
[4] III. i. 4–10.

καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἰέναι, καὶ
ἐπέστειλεν, ἢν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι·
ἢν δέ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέ-
μιδι ὅ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ.
7 Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος
ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν[1] ἀφικνεῖται
Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων καὶ ἀπο-
δίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ
8 θεός. ἔτυχε δὲ διαρρέων διὰ τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς
Σελινοῦς. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ-
μιδος νεὼν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ. καὶ
ἰχθύες τε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔνεισι καὶ κόγχαι· ἐν
δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων
9 ὁπόσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ
βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὡραῖα
θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ
οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς
ἑορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφι-
τα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων
ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων
10 δέ. καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἵ
τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν,

[1] παρὰ . . . Ὀλυμπίαν Gem. brackets, following Kühner.

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[1] In 394 B.C., ending in the hard-fought battle of Coronea, at which Xenophon was present. *cp. Hellenica*, IV. ii. 1–8, iii. 1–21.

against Boeotia,[1] in charge of Megabyzus, the sacristan of Artemis, for the reason that his own journey seemed likely to be a dangerous one; and his instructions were that in case he should escape with his life, the money was to be returned to him, but in case any ill should befall him, Megabyzus was to cause to be made and dedicated to Artemis whatever offering he thought would please the goddess.

In the time of Xenophon's exile[2] and while he was living at Scillus, near Olympia, where he had been established as a colonist by the Lacedaemonians, Megabyzus came to Olympia to attend the games and returned to him his deposit. Upon receiving it Xenophon bought a plot of ground for the goddess in a place which Apollo's oracle appointed. As it chanced, there flowed through the plot a river named Selinus; and at Ephesus likewise a Selinus river flows past the temple of Artemis. In both streams, moreover, there are fish and mussels, while in the plot at Scillus there is hunting of all manner of beasts of the chase. Here Xenophon built an altar and a temple with the sacred money, and from that time forth he would every year take the tithe of the products of the land in their season and offer sacrifice to the goddess, all the citizens and the men and women of the neighbourhood taking part in the festival. And the goddess would provide for the banqueters barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as of the victims taken in the chase. For Xenophon's sons and the sons of the other citizens used to have a

[2] Which was probably due to his taking part in the expedition of Cyrus. *cp.* III. i. 5.

οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων· καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι.

11 Ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα ᾗ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. ἔνι δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμὼν καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ σῦς καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι.
12 περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλσος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ
13 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ στήλη ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. ΤΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΥΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ, ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΙΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.

IV. Ἐκ Κερασοῦντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομίζοντο οἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ
2 γῆν ἐπορεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις, πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες πότερον ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἢ διὰ πολεμίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι οὐ
3 διήσοιεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. ἐντεῦθεν

[1] See iii. 1.

[2] Lit. *dwellers in Mossyns*, or wooden towers. See § 26 below.

hunting expedition at the time of the festival, and any grown men who so wished would join them; and they captured their game partly from the sacred precinct itself and partly from Mount Pholöe—boars and gazelles and stags.

The place is situated on the road which leads from Lacedaemon to Olympia, and is about twenty stadia from the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Within the sacred precinct there is meadowland and tree-covered hills, suited for the rearing of swine, goats, cattle and horses, so that even the draught animals which bring people to the festival have their feast also. Immediately surrounding the temple is a grove of cultivated trees, producing all sorts of dessert fruits in their season. The temple itself is like the one at Ephesus, although small as compared with great, and the image of the goddess, although cypress wood as compared with gold, is like the Ephesian image. Beside the temple stands a tablet with this inscription: THE PLACE IS SACRED TO ARTEMIS. HE WHO HOLDS IT AND ENJOYS ITS FRUITS MUST OFFER THE TITHE EVERY YEAR IN SACRIFICE, AND FROM THE REMAINDER MUST KEEP THE TEMPLE IN REPAIR. IF ANY ONE LEAVE THESE THINGS UNDONE, THE GODDESS WILL LOOK TO IT.

IV. Leaving Cerasus, the people who had thus far been conveyed by sea [1] went on as before, while the rest continued their journey by land. When they reached the boundary of the Mossynoecians,[2] they sent to them Timesitheus the Trapezuntian, who was official representative of the Mossynoecians at Trapezus, and asked whether in marching through their country they were to regard it as friendly or hostile. The Mossynoecians replied that they would not permit them to pass through; for they trusted

λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος ὅτι πολέμιοι τούτοις εἰσὶν οἱ
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι ἐκείνους,
εἰ βούλοιντο ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμ-
φθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος ἧκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας.
4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἵ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοί-
κων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων·
5 καὶ ἔλεξε Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος· Ὦ
ἄνδρες Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασωθῆναι
πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεζῇ· πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν.
κωλύουσι δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολε-
6 μίους εἶναι. εἰ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς
λαβεῖν ξυμμάχους καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι εἴ τί ποτε
ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκό-
7 ους εἶναι τούτους. εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε
πόθεν αὖθις ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε ξύμ-
8 μαχον. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν
Μοσσυνοίκων ὅτι καὶ βούλοιντο ταῦτα καὶ δέ-
9 χοιντο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν. Ἄγετε δή, ἔφη ὁ Ξενο-
φῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι, ἂν ξύμμαχοι
ὑμῶν γενώμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἷοί τε ἔσεσθε ἡμῖν
10 ξυμπρᾶξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου; οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι ἱκα-
νοί ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ
δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας οἵτινες
ὑμῖν ξυμμαχοῦνταί τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται.
11 Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ᾤχοντο.
καὶ ἧκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα
μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν

in their strongholds. Then Timesitheus told the Greeks that the Mossynoecians who dwelt farther on were hostile to these people, and it was decided to summon them and see whether they wanted to conclude an alliance; so Timesitheus was sent to them, and brought back with him their chiefs. When they arrived, these chiefs of the Mossynoecians and the generals of the Greeks met together; and Xenophon spoke as follows, Timesitheus acting as interpreter: "Mossynoecians, we desire to make our way to Greece in safety by land, for we have no ships; but these people, who, as we hear, are your enemies, are trying to block our passage. If you wish, therefore, it is within your power to secure us as allies, to exact vengeance for any wrong these people have ever done you, and to make them henceforth your subjects. But if you dismiss us with a refusal, where, bethink you, could you ever again secure so large a force to help fight your battles?" To these words the chief of the Mossynoecians replied that they desired this arrangement and accepted the alliance. "Well, then," said Xenophon, "what use will you want to make of us if we become your allies, and what assistance will you, in your turn, be able to render us in the matter of our passage through this territory?" They replied: "We are able to invade this land of your enemies and ours from the opposite side, and to send to you here not only ships, but men who will aid you in the fighting and will guide you on your way."

After confirming this agreement by giving and receiving pledges they departed. The next day they returned, bringing with them three hundred canoes, each made out of a single log and each

δύο ἐκβάντες εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, ὁ δὲ εἷς
12 ἐνέμενε.[1] καὶ οἱ μὲν λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάξαντο ὧδε. ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα οἷον χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέρρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασμένα κιττοῦ πετάλῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἑξάπηχυ, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον,
13 ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα οἷάπερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρωβύλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις
14 σιδηρᾶς. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἷς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐπορεύοντο ᾄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
15 ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι. ᾠκεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως[2] τῆς Μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὂν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.

16 Εἵποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, οὐ

[1] ἐνέμενε Gem., following Breitenbach: ἔμενε MSS., Mar.
[2] τῆς πόλεως Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

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[1] *cp.* IV. vii. 16 and note thereon.

containing three men, two of whom disembarked and fell into line under arms, while the third remained in the canoe. Then the second group took their canoes and sailed back again, and those who stayed behind marshalled themselves in the following way. They took position in lines of about a hundred each, like choral dancers ranged opposite one another, all of them with wicker shields covered with white, shaggy ox-hide and like an ivy leaf in shape, and each man holding in his right hand a lance about six cubits long, with a spearhead at one end [1] and a round ball at the butt end of the shaft. They wore short tunics which did not reach their knees and were as thick as a linen bag for bed-clothes, and upon their heads leathern helmets just such as the Paphlagonian helmets, with a tuft in the middle very like a tiara in shape; and they had also iron battle-axes. After they had formed their lines one of them led off, and the rest after him, every man of them, fell into a rhythmic march and song, and passing through the battalions and through the quarters of the Greeks they went straight on against the enemy, toward a stronghold which seemed to be especially assailable. It was situated in front of the city which is called by them Metropolis and contains the chief citadel of the Mossynoecians. In fact, it was for the possession of this citadel that the war was going on; for those who at any time held it were deemed to be masters of all the other Mossynoecians, and they said that the present occupants did not hold it by right, but that it was common property and they had seized it in order to gain a selfish advantage.

The attacking party was followed by some of the

ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἁρπαγῆς
ἕνεκεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι προσιόντων τέως μὲν
ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου,
ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ξυναναβάντων
Ἑλλήνων τινάς, καὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι οὗ εἶδον τοὺς
17 Ἕλληνας βοηθοῦντας· εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι
ᾤχοντο, καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν
ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολε-
18 μίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. οἱ δὲ
Ἕλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο ὅτι τούς τε πολεμίους
ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες
Ἕλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν μάλα ὄντες
συχνοί· ὃ οὔπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ
στρατείᾳ.
19 Ξενοφῶν δὲ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶπεν·
Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν
γεγενημένων· ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μεῖον
20 τοῦ κακοῦ γεγένηται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε
ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιοί
εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ξὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως
καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι εἶναι ξὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις
ταὐτὰ πράττειν ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν δίκην δεδώκασιν·
ὥστε αὖθις ἧττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολεί-
21 ψονται. ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὅπως
καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξητε κρείτ-
τους αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσητε

Greeks, not under orders from their generals, but seeking plunder. As they approached, the enemy for a time kept quiet; but when they had got near the stronghold, they sallied forth and put them to flight, killing a considerable number of the barbarians and some of the Greeks who had gone up the hill with them, and pursuing the rest until they saw the Greeks coming to the rescue; then they turned and fell back, and after cutting off the heads of the dead men displayed them to the Greeks and to their own enemies, at the same time dancing to a kind of strain which they sang. And the Greeks were exceedingly angry, not only because the enemy had been made bolder, but because the Greeks who went to the attack with the barbarians had taken to flight, though in very considerable numbers—a thing which they had never done before in the course of the expedition.

Then Xenophon called the Greeks together and said: "Fellow-soldiers, do not by any means lose heart on account of what has happened; for be sure that a good thing also has happened, no less important than the evil thing. In the first place, you know that those who are to guide us are really enemies to the people whose enemies we also are compelled to be; secondly, and touching our own men, those among them who took little thought of the battle formation we use and got the idea that they could accomplish the same results in company with the barbarians as they could with us, have paid the penalty,—another time they will be less likely to leave our ordered lines. But you must make ready to prove to our friends among the barbarians that you are better men than they, and to show the

ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ
ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.
22 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· τῇ
δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θύσαντες ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀρι-
στήσαντες, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταὐτὰ
ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν
λόχων ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένου δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στό-
23 ματος τῶν ὁπλιτῶν. ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἳ
εὔζωνοι κατατρέχοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλον. τού-
τους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ πελτασταί. οἱ δ'
ἄλλοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον
ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτρέφθησαν
καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν
24 ἀντιτεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέ-
ξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐμάχοντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς
ἦσαν οἱ ὁπλῖται, ἐτρέποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελ-
τασταὶ εὐθὺς εἵποντο διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν
25 πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ἐν τάξει εἵποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς Μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐν-
ταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι
ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα
δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι
μόλις, τούτοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνασθαι ἐκ χειρός.
26 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόσε
ἐχώρουν, ἔφευγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, λεί-
ποντες ἅπαντες [1] τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν

[1] λείποντες ἅπαντες Rehdantz: ἔλειπον (ἔλιπον) ἅπαντες MSS.: λιπόντες ἅπαντες Mar.: ἔλειπον ἅψαντες Gem.

enemy that they are not going to fight against the same sort of men now as the disorderly mass they met before."

It was thus that the Greeks spent that day; but on the next, after obtaining favourable omens from their sacrifices, they took breakfast, formed the companies in column, and began the march, with the barbarians in the same formation posted on the left, the bowmen distributed in the spaces between the companies, and the van of the hoplites a little farther back. For the enemy had some nimble troops who kept running down the hill and pelting the Greeks with stones, and these fellows were held back by the bowmen and peltasts. The rest of the Greek army, proceeding at a walk, advanced first against the stronghold from which the barbarians and those with them had been put to flight on the preceding day; for it was there that the enemy were now drawn up to oppose them. The barbarians did, indeed, meet the attack of the peltasts and engaged them in battle, but when the hoplites got near them, they turned to flight. The peltasts at once made after them and pursued them up the hill to the city, while the hoplites followed along, still keeping their lines. When they were at the top and near the houses of Metropolis, at that moment all the troops of the enemy massed together and did battle; they hurled their lances, and with other spears which they had, so thick and long that a man could only carry them with difficulty, tried to defend themselves in hand to hand fighting. As the Greeks, however, refused to give way, but kept pushing on to close quarters, the barbarians took to flight from that point also, every man of them abandoning the fortress. Their

ὁ ἐν τῷ μόσσυνι τῷ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρου ᾠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττουσιν, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἱρεθέντι χωρίῳ, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσσύνοις κατεκαύθησαν.

27 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες τὰ χωρία ηὕρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων πατρίους,[1] ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν δὲ νέον σῖτον ξὺν τῇ καλάμῃ ἀποκείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζειαὶ
28 αἱ πλεῖσται. καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν ηὑρίσκετο τεταριχευμένα καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι καθά-
29 περ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ· κάρυα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνώγεων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυὴν οὐδεμίαν. τούτων καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἕψοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες. οἶνος δὲ ηὑρίσκετο ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν ὀξὺς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δὲ εὐώδης τε καὶ ἡδύς.

30 Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ξυμμαχήσασι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. ὁπόσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρῆσαν χωρία τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσοδώτατα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ δὲ
31 ἑκόντες προσεχώρουν. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων. ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ πλέον αἱ δὲ μεῖον· ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ξυνήκουον εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ

[1] πατρίους MSS., Gem. : περυσινῶν Mar., following Suidas.

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[1] *i.e.* the one mentioned above, §§ 14, 23.

king in his wooden tower built upon the citadel, whom all the people jointly maintain and guard in his abiding place there, refused to come forth, as did also the commander of the stronghold[1] which had been captured earlier, so they were burned up where they were, along with their towers.

In plundering the strongholds the Greeks found in the houses ancestral stores, as the Mossynoecians described them, of heaped up loaves, while the new corn was laid away with the straw, the most of it being spelt. They also found slices of dolphin salted away in jars, and in other vessels dolphin blubber, which the Mossynoecians used in the same way as the Greeks use olive oil; and on the upper floors of the houses there were large quantities of flat nuts, without any divisions.[2] Out of these nuts, by boiling them and baking them into loaves, they made the bread which they used most. The Greeks also found wine, which by reason of its harshness appeared to be sharp when taken unmixed, but mixed with water was fragrant and delicious.

When they had breakfasted there, the Greeks took up their onward march, after handing over the fortress to the Mossynoecians who had helped them in the fighting. As for the other strongholds which they passed by, belonging to those who sided with the enemy, the most accessible were in some cases abandoned by their occupants, in other cases surrendered voluntarily. The greater part of these places were of the following description: The towns were eighty stadia distant from one another, some more, and some less; but the inhabitants could hear one

[2] *i. e.* such as walnuts have. Xenophon probably means chestnuts.

τῆς ἑτέρας πόλεως· οὕτως ὑψηλή τε καὶ κοίλη ἡ
32 χώρα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φίλοις
ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων
σιτευτούς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἑφθοῖς, ἁπαλοὺς
καὶ λευκοὺς σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας ἴσους
τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ
νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέ-
33 μια. ἐζήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἃς ἦγον οἱ
Ἕλληνες, ἐμφανῶς ξυγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν
οὗτός σφισι. λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ
34 γυναῖκες. τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρ-
βαρωτάτους διελθεῖν καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνι-
κῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. ἔν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες
ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν ἄλλοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν, μόνοι
τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἔπραττον ἅπερ ἂν μετ᾽ ἄλλων
ὄντες, διελέγοντό τε αὑτοῖς καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς
καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι ὅπου τύχοιεν ὥσπερ
ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

V. Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διά τε
τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὀκτὼ
σταθμούς, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. οὗτοι
ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων,
καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας.
2 ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνούς. ἡ δὲ τῶν
Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία
εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἧττον ἐρυμνά. καὶ οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ ἔχρῃζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία προσβάλλειν καὶ

[1] Apparently an outlying tribe of the people whose territory the Greeks had previously passed through. *cp.* IV. vii. 15 ff.

another shouting from one town to the next, such heights and valleys there were in the country. And when the Greeks, as they proceeded, were among the friendly Mossynoecians, they would exhibit to them fattened children of the wealthy inhabitants, whom had been nourished on boiled nuts and were soft and white to an extraordinary degree, and pretty nearly equal in length and breadth, with their backs adorned with many colours and their fore parts all tattooed with flower patterns. These Mossynoecians wanted also to have intercourse openly with the women who accompanied the Greeks, for that was their own fashion. And all of them were white, the men and the women alike. They were set down by the Greeks who served through the expedition, as the most uncivilized people whose country they traversed, the furthest removed from Greek customs. For they habitually did in public the things that other people would do only in private, and when they were alone they would behave just as if they were in the company of others, talking to themselves, laughing at themselves, and dancing in whatever spot they chanced to be, as though they were giving an exhibition to others.

V. Through this country, both the hostile and the friendly portions of it, the Greeks marched eight stages, reaching then the land of the Chalybians.[1] These people were few in number and subject to the Mossynoecians, and most of them gained their livelihood from working in iron. Next they reached the country of the Tibarenians, which was much more level and had fortresses upon the seacoast that were less strong. The generals were desirous of attacking these fortresses, so as to get a little some-

τὴν στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναί τι, καὶ τὰ ξένια ἃ ἧκε
παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιμεῖναι
3 *κελεύσαντες ἔστε βουλεύσαιντο ἐθύοντο. καὶ*
πολλὰ καταθυσάντων τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ
μάντεις πάντες γνώμην ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσίοιντο οἱ
θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο,
καὶ ὡς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀφί-
κοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων
ἄποικον, οὖσαν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν χώρᾳ.[1]
5 *Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα πέντε.*
ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ
πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλ-
6 *λήνων καὶ ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς. τὰ δ᾽ ἐπιτήδει᾽*
ἐλάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ
τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρεῖχον
ἀγοράν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας
ἐδέχοντο.
7 *Ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φο-*
βούμενοι περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως,
ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ φόρον ἐκείνοις ἔφερον, καὶ
περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον δῃουμένην. καὶ ἐλ-
θόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ
Ἑκατώνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν·
8 *Ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν*
Σινωπέων πόλις ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς ὅτι νικᾶτε

[1] § 4 in the MSS. is as follows (see translation on opposite page): *Μέχρι ἐνταῦθα ἐπέζευσεν ἡ στρατιά. πλῆθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς Κοτύωρα σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι, χρόνου πλῆθος ὀκτὼ μῆνες.* This passage is regarded by edd. generally as an interpolation. *cp.* II. ii. 6.

thing for the army, and accordingly they would not accept the gifts of hospitality which came from the Tibarenians, but, directing them to wait until they should take counsel, proceeded to offer sacrifices. After many victims had been sacrificed all the seers finally declared the opinion that the gods in no wise permitted war. So then the generals accepted the gifts of hospitality, and proceeding as through a friendly country for two days, they arrived at Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopeans, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians.[1]

There they remained forty-five days. During this time they first of all sacrificed to the gods, and all the several groups of the Greeks, nation by nation, instituted festal processions and athletic contests. As for provisions, they got them partly from Paphlagonia and partly from the estates of the Cotyorites; for the latter would not provide them with a market, nor would they receive their sick within the walls of the city.

Meanwhile ambassadors came from Sinope, full of fears not only for the city of the Cotyorites (for it belonged to them and its inhabitants paid them tribute), but also for its territory, because they heard it was being laid waste. And coming to the Greek camp they spoke as follows, Hecatonymus, who was regarded as a clever orator, being their spokesman: "Soldiers," he said, "the city of the Sinopeans has sent us, first, to applaud you as Greeks who stand

[1] § 4 (see opposite page): As far as this point the army travelled by land. The length in distance of the downward journey, from the battlefield near Babylon to Cotyora, was one hundred and twenty-two stages, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen thousand, six hundred stadia; and in time, eight months. [18,600 stadia = *c.* 2050 English miles.]

Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνη-
σθησομένους ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς
ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, πραγμάτων σεσωμένοι πάρεστε.
9 ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν
ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μέν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ
μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπήρξα-
10 μεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. Κοτυωρῖται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ
μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς
ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι·
διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον
καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι· ὥστε ὅ τι
ἂν τούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις
11 νομίζει πάσχειν. νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἴς τε
τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρεληλυθότας ἐνίους σκηνοῦν ἐν
ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων βίᾳ λαμβάνειν ὧν
12 ἂν δέησθε οὐ πείθοντας. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν·
εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλαν
καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον ὅντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα
φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.
13 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἥκο-
μεν ἀγαπῶντες ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ
τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα
ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.
14 καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν,
ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μέν, παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν,
ὠνούμενοι εἴχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ᾽ ὧν
ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ,
ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν
τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολε-

[1] Ruler of Paphlagonia.

victors over barbarians, and, secondly, to congratulate you that you have made your way through many dreadful troubles, as we have heard, in safety to this place. Now we claim, being ourselves Greeks, to receive from you, who are Greeks also, good treatment and no ill; for we, on our side, have never set the example by doing you any manner of harm. These Cotyorites are our colonists, and it was we who gave over to them this land, after we had taken it away from barbarians; therefore they pay us a stated tribute, as do the people of Cerasus and Trapezus; hence whatever harm you may do to these Cotyorites, the city of the Sinopeans regards as done to itself. At present we hear, firstly, that you have made your way into the city by force, some of you, and are quartered in the houses, and, secondly, that you are taking from the estates by force whatever you may need without asking leave. Now these things we do not deem proper; and if you continue to do them, you force us to make friends with Corylas[1] and the Paphlagonians and whomever else we can."

In reply to these words Xenophon, on behalf of the soldiers, rose and said: "For ourselves, men of Sinope, we have come back well content to have saved our bodies and our arms; for it was not possible at one and the same time to gather plunder and to fight with the enemy. As to our doings now, since we have reached Greek cities, we got our provisions in Trapezus by purchase, for the Trapezuntians provided us a market, and in return for the honours they bestowed upon us and the gifts of hospitality they gave the army, we paid them like honours; if any of the barbarians were their friends, we kept our hands off them, while upon their enemies, against

μιους αὐτῶν ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῖντο κακῶς ἐποιοῦ-
15 *μεν ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁποίων*
τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἡμῖν
16 *ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἡ πόλις ξυνέπεμψεν. ὅποι*
δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγορὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἄν τε εἰς βάρ-
βαρον γῆν ἄν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, *οὐχ ὕβρει ἀλλὰ*
17 *ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ* Καρδού-
χους καὶ Ταόχους *καὶ* Χαλδαίους *καίπερ βασι-*
λέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς
ὅμως[1] *πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην*
εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρ-
18 *εῖχον.* Μάκρωνας *δὲ καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας,*
ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, φίλους τε
ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν
ἐκείνων.
19 Κοτυωρίτας *δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι*
αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοί εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς
φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς
πύλας οὔτε εἴσω ἐδέχοντο οὔτε ἔξω ἀγορὰν
ἔπεμπον· ᾐτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἁρμοστὴν
20 *τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. ὃ δὲ λέγεις βίᾳ παρελθόντας*
σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἠξιοῦμεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς
στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέῳγον τὰς πύλας,
ᾗ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ταύτῃ εἰσελθόντες
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν, σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν
ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ αὑτῶν δαπανῶντες,
καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ

[1] *ὄντας . . . ὅμως* Gem.: *ὄντας ὅμως . . . ὄντας* MSS., Mar.

whom they would themselves lead us, we wrought all the harm we could. Ask them what sort of people they found us to be; for the men are here present whom the city of Trapezus, out of friendship, sent with us as guides. On the other hand, wherever we come, whether it be to a barbarian or to a Greek land, and have no market at which to buy, we take provisions, not out of wantonness, but from necessity. The Carduchians, for example, and the Taochians and Chaldaeans were not subjects of the King and were exceedingly formidable, yet, even so, we made enemies of them because of this necessity of taking provisions, inasmuch as they would not provide a market. The Macronians, however, provided us as good a market as they could, and we therefore regarded them as friends, barbarians though they were, and took by force not a thing that belonged to them.

"As for the Cotyorites, whom you claim as yours, if we have taken anything that belonged to them, they are themselves to blame; for they did not behave toward us as friends, but shut their gates and would neither admit us within nor send a market without; and they alleged that the governor set over them by you was responsible for this conduct. In regard to your statement about people making their way into the city by force and being quartered there, we asked them to receive our sick into their houses; but when they refused to open their gates, we went in at a point where the place of itself received us; and we have done no deed of force save only that our sick are quartered in the houses, paying their own expenses, and that we are guarding the gates, in

ὑμετέρῳ ἁρμοστῇ ὦσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ'
21 ἐφ' ἡμῖν ᾖ κομίσασθαι ὅταν βουλώμεθα. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μέν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι.

22 Ἃ δὲ ἠπείλησας ὡς ἢν ὑμῖν δοκῇ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἢν μὲν ἀνάγκη ᾖ πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν. ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν καὶ φίλον ποιεῖ-
23 σθαι τὸν Παφλαγόνα—ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων—πειρασόμεθα ξυμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι γίγνεσθαι.

24 Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἑκατωνύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις, παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἥκοιεν ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείξοντες ὅτι φίλοι εἰσί. καὶ ξενίοις, ἢν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνανται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα
25 ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ λέγετε. ἐκ τούτου ξένιά τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρῖται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινωπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

VI. Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς

order that our sick may not be in the power of your governor, but that it may be in our power to get them back when we so wish. The rest of us, as you see, are quartered in the open in our regular formation, all ready, in case one does us a kindness, to return the like, or if it is an injury, to return that.

"As to the threat you uttered, that if you thought best you would enlist Corylas and the Paphlagonians as allies against us, we on our side are quite ready to make war with you both if it be necessary; for we have made war ere now with others who were many times your numbers. But if we think best to make a friend of the Paphlagonian—and we hear that he has a desire for your city and strongholds on the coast—we shall try to prove ourselves his friends by aiding him to accomplish his desires."

Hereupon Hecatonymus' fellow-ambassadors made it very clear that they were angry with him for the words he had spoken, and one of them took the floor and said that they had not come to make war, but to show that they were friends. "And if you come," he continued, "to the city of the Sinopeans, we shall receive you there with gifts of hospitality, and now we shall direct the people of this city to give you what they can; for we see that all you say is true." After this the Cotyorites sent gifts of hospitality, and the generals of the Greeks entertained the ambassadors of the Sinopeans, and they had a great deal of friendly conversation with one another on general matters, while in particular they made such inquiries as each party wished in regard to the rest of the journey.

VI. Such was the end of that day. On the next the generals called an assembly of the soldiers, and

στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς
πορείας παρακαλέσαντας τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλεύ-
εσθαι. εἴτε γὰρ πεζῇ δέοι πορεύεσθαι, χρήσιμοι
ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν
τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν, προσδεῖν
ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ
εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ.
2 καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυνεβουλεύοντο,
καὶ ἠξίουν Ἕλληνας ὄντας Ἕλλησι τούτῳ πρῶ-
τον καλῶς δέχεσθαι τῷ εὔνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ
κάλλιστα ξυμβουλεύειν.
3 Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατώνυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογή-
σατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον
ποιήσοιντο, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολεμη-
σόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις
φίλους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἱρήσονται. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ξυμβουλεύειν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος εἶπεν ὧδε.
4 Εἰ μὲν ξυμβουλεύοιμι ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ,
πολλά μοι καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τἀναντία.
αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ
μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἂν μὲν εὖ ξυμβουλεύσας
φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με, ἂν δὲ
5 κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. πράγ-
ματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἕξομεν, ἐὰν
κατὰ θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ
πλοῖα πορίζειν· ἢν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ὑμᾶς
6 δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα
ἃ γιγνώσκω· ἔμπειρος γάρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας

[1] Hecatonymus alludes to the proverb "Counsel is a sacred thing," *i.e.* it must be given honestly.

they decided to invite the Sinopeans to join them in deliberating about the rest of their journey. For if they should have to proceed by land, it seemed that the Sinopeans would be useful to them, by virtue of their acquaintance with Paphlagonia; and if they were to go by sea, there was still need, they thought, of the Sinopeans, inasmuch as they were the only people who could provide ships enough for the army. They accordingly invited the ambassadors in and proceeded to take counsel with them, asking them, as Greeks dealing with Greeks, to make a beginning of their kindly reception by showing friendliness and offering the best advice.

Then Hecatonymus rose and, in the first place, defended himself in the matter of his remark that they would make a friend of the Paphlagonian, by saying that he did not mean that his own people would make war upon the Greeks, but rather that despite the opportunity they had to be friends of the barbarians they would choose the Greeks instead. But when they told him to proceed to give some advice, he began with a prayer to the gods as follows: "If I should give the advice which in my judgment is best, may many blessings come to me; otherwise, the opposite. For what men term 'sacred counsel' [1] seems verily to be my portion; since to-day if I be found to have given good counsel, there will be many to praise me, but if it be ill, there will be many among you to curse me. Now I know that we shall have far more trouble if you are conveyed by sea, for upon us will fall the duty of providing the ships; while if you journey by land, upon you will fall the task of doing the fighting. Nevertheless, I must say what I believe; for I am

τῆς Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφότερα, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα.
7 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθὺς ᾗ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη ἢ ᾗ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἄν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δύναιντ' ἂν διελθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαιμι ἄν, εἴ μοί τινα βούλοισθε ξυμπέμψαι.
8 ἔπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππείαν ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἁπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἱππείας. καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν.

9 Ἢν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τά τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τούς τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμώδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑπομένων· δεύτερον δὲ Ἶριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δὲ Ἅλυν, οὐ μεῖον δυοῖν σταδίοιν, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; ὡς δ' αὔτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἄν, εἰ τὸν Ἅλυν διαβαίητε.

10 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω

acquainted with both the country of the Paphlagonians and their power. Their country possesses these two things, the fairest plains and the loftiest mountains. And, in the first place, I know at once where you must make your entry: there is no place save where the peaks of the mountains rise high on either side of the road; holding these peaks a mere handful of men could command the pass, and if they are so held, not all the men in the world could effect a passage. All this I could even point out if you should care to send some one to the spot with me. Secondly, I know that they have plains and a cavalry which the barbarians themselves regard as superior to the whole of the King's cavalry. Indeed, only now these Paphlagonians have failed to present themselves when the King summoned them, for their ruler is too proud to obey.

"If you should, after all, find yourselves able not only to seize the mountains, whether by stealth or by anticipating the enemy, but also on the plain to conquer in battle both their cavalry and their more than one hundred and twenty thousand infantry, you will come to the rivers. First is the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which I fancy would be difficult to cross, especially with great numbers of the enemy in front and great numbers following behind; second, the Iris, likewise three plethra wide; third, the Halys, not less than two stadia in width, which you could not cross without boats—and who will there be to supply you with boats?—and similarly impassable is the Parthenius also, to which you would come if you should get across the Halys.

"For my part, therefore, I believe that this journey is not merely difficult for you, but a thing of utter

τὴν πορείαν ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. ἂν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλεῦσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά ἐστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον φιλίας ἕνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν ξυμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἱ δὲ ὑπώπτευον καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα λέγειν ὡς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζοιντο. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖ-
12 σθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ὦ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ᾕρηνται τὴν πορείαν ἣν ὑμεῖς ξυμβουλεύετε· οὕτω δὲ ἔχει· εἰ μὲν πλοῖα ἔσεσθαι μέλλει ἱκανὰ ὡς ἀριθμῷ ἕνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς ἂν πλέοιμεν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμ-
13 βαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναίμεθα ἂν καὶ σῴζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δέ που ἥττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθησόμεθα, εὔδηλον δὴ ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ ἐσόμεθα. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ
14 Σινωπεῖς[1] ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις. καὶ πέμπουσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο.

15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὁρῶντι μὲν ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶντι δὲ πελτα-

[1] Σινωπεῖς Gem., following Cobet: πρέσβεις MSS., Mar.

impossibility. If you go by sea, however, you can coast along from here to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heracleia; and from Heracleia on there is no difficulty either by land or by water, for there are ships in abundance at Heracleia."

When he had thus spoken, some of his hearers were suspicious that he spoke as he did out of friendship for Corylas, for he was his official representative at Sinope; others imagined that he even had the idea of obtaining gifts on account of this advice; while still others suspected that the real purpose of his speech was to prevent the Greeks from going by land and so doing some harm to the territory of the Sinopeans. At any rate, however, the Greeks voted to make the journey by sea. After this Xenophon said: "Men of Sinope, my troops have chosen the route which you advise; but the matter stands in this way: if there are to be ships enough so that not so much as one man will be left behind here, we shall set sail; but if the plan should be to let some of us stay behind and others sail, we shall not set foot on the ships. For we know that wherever we hold the upper hand, we should be able both to keep ourselves safe and to obtain provisions; but let us once get caught where we are weaker than the enemy, and it is perfectly clear that we shall be in the position of slaves." Upon hearing these words the Sinopeans told them to send ambassadors. And they sent Callimachus the Arcadian, Ariston the Athenian, and Samolas the Achaean. These men accordingly set out.

At this time, as Xenophon's eyes rested upon a great body of Greek hoplites, and likewise upon

στὰς πολλοὺς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ
ἱππέας δὲ καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανούς,
ὄντας δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ᾽ ὀλίγων
χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρεσκευάσθη, καλὸν
αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι χώραν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
16 προσκτήσασθαι πόλιν κατοικίσαντας. καὶ γενέ-
σθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τό
τε αὐτῶν πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸν
Πόντον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο πρίν τινι εἰπεῖν
τῶν στρατιωτῶν Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας τὸν Κύρου
17 μάντιν γενόμενον τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην. ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς
δεδιὼς μὴ γένηται ταῦτα καὶ καταμείνῃ που ἡ
στρατιά, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον ὅτι
Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμεῖναι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ
πόλιν οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περι-
18 ποιήσασθαι. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι
τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ
Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικοὺς ὅτε τὰς δέκα
ἡμέρας ἠλήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει.
19 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν
ἐδόκει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς
οὔ. Τιμασίων δὲ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Θώραξ ὁ
Βοιώτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινὰς παρόντας τῶν
Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν ὅτι εἰ μὴ
ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθὸν ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μεῖναι το-
σαύτη δύναμις ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ· βούλεται γὰρ
Ξενοφῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ

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[1] Xenophon uses the term Πόντος both of the Euxine Sea and of the region along its south-eastern coast. See below.
[2] See I. vii. 18.

a great body of peltasts, bowmen, slingers, and horsemen also, all of them now exceedingly efficient through constant service and all there in Pontus,[1] where so large a force could not have been gathered by any slight outlay of money, it seemed to him that it was a fine thing to gain additional territory and power for Greece by founding a city. It would become a great city, he thought, as he reckoned up their own numbers and the peoples who dwelt around the Euxine. And with a view to this project, before speaking about it to any of the soldiers, he offered sacrifices, summoning for that purpose Silanus the Ambraciot, who had been the soothsayer of Cyrus. Silanus, however, fearing that this thing might come to pass and that the army might settle down somewhere, carried forth to the troops a report that Xenophon wanted them to settle down, so that he could found a city and win for himself a name and power. As for Silanus, his own desire was to reach Greece as quickly as possible; for the three thousand darics, which he had received from Cyrus at the time when he sacrificed for him and had told the truth about the ten days,[2] he had brought safely through.

When the soldiers heard this report, some of them thought it was best to settle down, but the majority thought otherwise. And Timasion the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian said to some Heracleot and Sinopean merchants who were there, that if they did not provide pay for the troops so that they would have provisions for the voyage from Cotyora, there would be danger of that great force remaining in Pontus. "For Xenophon," they went on, "wishes and is urging that as soon as the ships come,

20 πλοῖα, τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ· Ἄνδρες,
νῦν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ
ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ οἴκαδε[1] ἀπελ-
θόντας ὀνῆσαί τι τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς
κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξά-
μενοι ὅποι ἂν βούλησθε κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν
ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, τὸν δὲ θέλοντα μένειν
αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν
βούλησθε ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.
21 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς
πόλεσι· ξυνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίων Δαρδανεὺς
Εὐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Δαρδανέα καὶ Θώρακα τὸν
Βοιώτιον ταὐτὰ ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ
Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες πέμπουσι πρὸς
τὸν Τιμασίωνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι λα-
22 βόντα χρήματα ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. ὁ
δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ἐν ξυλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ὄντων λέγει τάδε. Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὦ
ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος
ποιεῖσθαι. ἀκούω δέ τινας θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ
23 οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. ὑπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν
ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νουμηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν
κυζικηνὸν ἑκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς
τὴν Τρῳάδα, ἔνθεν καί εἰμι φυγάς, καὶ ὑπάρξει
ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἑκόντες γάρ με δέξονται.

[1] οἴκαδε the inferior MSS., Cobet: ὡς οἴκαδε the better MSS., Gem., Mar.

we should then say all of a sudden to the army: 'Soldiers, now we see that you are without means either to supply yourselves with provisions on the homeward voyage, or to do anything for your people at home when you have got back there; but if you wish to pick out some spot in the country that lies round about the Euxine and put to shore wherever you may wish—he who so desires to go back home and he who so desires to stay behind—here are your ships, so that you could make a sudden attack at whatever point you may wish.'"

Upon hearing this statement the merchants carried it back to their cities; and along with them Timasion the Dardanian sent Eurymachus the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian to tell the same story. When the Sinopeans and Heracleots heard it, they sent to Timasion and urged him to take in charge, for a fee, the matter of getting the army to sail away. He received this proposal gladly, and when the soldiers were gathered in assembly addressed them as follows: "You ought not, soldiers, to set your thoughts on remaining here, nor to esteem anything more highly than Greece. But I hear that certain people are offering sacrifices over this matter, with not so much as a word to you. Now I promise, in case you set sail from here, to provide you with pay from the first of the month at the rate of a Cyzicene[1] per month to each man; and I will take you to Troas, the place from which I am an exile, and my city will be at your service; for they will receive me willingly.

[1] A gold coin of Cyzicus, an important Greek city on the Propontis. It was equivalent in weight of gold to £1 11*s.* 1*d.* or $7.56; but see note on I. i. 9.

24 ἡγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε. ἔμπειρος δέ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Τρῳάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ.

25 Ἀναστὰς αὖθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς περὶ στρατηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα ὥστε ἐξεῖναι[1] τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε. γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου ἐν τῃ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν.
26 ἔστε δ' ἄν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, κἀγὼ καθάπερ Τιμασίων ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφοράν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν εἰδὼς ἃ Τιμασίωνι οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ὑπισχνοῦντο ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα.

27 Ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλήσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον ὡς δεινὸν εἴη ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς, εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων. ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε.
28 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν ὡς ὁρᾶτε ὁπόσα δύναμαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων ὁποῖα

[1] ἐξεῖναι inserted by Gem., following Cobet: Mar. prefers εἶναι.

Then I myself will lead you to places from which you will get an abundance of wealth. I am acquainted with Aeolis, Phrygia, Troas, and the entire province of Pharnabazus,[1] partly because I come from that region, and partly because I have campaigned there with Clearchus and Dercylidas."[2]

Next rose Thorax the Boeotian, who was at odds with Xenophon over the generalship of the army, and said that once they got out of the Euxine they would have the Chersonese, a fair and prosperous country, where any one who so desired might dwell, while any who did not desire to do this, might return home. It was ridiculous, he said, when there was plenty of fertile land in Greece, to be hunting for it in the domain of the barbarians. "And until you reach that spot," he continued, "I also, like Timasion, promise you regular pay." All this he said with full knowledge of what the Heracleots and the Sinopeans were promising Timasion for getting the army to sail away. Xenophon meanwhile was silent.

Then Philesius and Lycon the Achaeans rose and said that it was outrageous for Xenophon to be privately urging people to settle down and sacrificing with a view to that plan, while publicly saying not a word about the matter. Thus Xenophon was compelled to rise and speak as follows: "I offer, soldiers, as you see, all the sacrifices I can both on your behalf and my own in order that I may perchance say and think and do such things as will be

[1] Persian satrap of Lesser Phrygia and Bithynia.

[2] A Spartan general. He had taken part in the Peloponnesian War, and was the commander under whom the Ten Thousand later served.

μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. καὶ νῦν ἐθυόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰ ἄμεινον εἴη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν περὶ τούτων ἢ παντάπασι μηδὲ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγ-
29 ματος. Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ᾔδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὄντα διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὡς ἄρα γιγνώσκων ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη
30 οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἐσκόπουν ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἂν γένοιτο ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιτο ἱκανὰ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους ὠφελῆσαί τι.
31 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπέας ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπισχνουμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νουμηνίας, καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι σῳζομένους ἔνθα βουλόμεθα μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτός τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας, καὶ ὁπόσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσῆσαν λέγοντες ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀναπαύεσθαί φημι χρῆναι.

32 Οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώσκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοὶ ὥσπερ νυνὶ δοκεῖτε ἄν μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐστι καὶ

fairest and best both for you and me. And in the present case I was sacrificing for guidance on this point only, whether it was better to begin to speak before you and to act regarding this project, or not to touch the matter at all. Now Silanus, the soothsayer, answered me in respect to the main issue that the omens were favourable (for he knew well enough that I was not unacquainted with divination, from being always present at the sacrifices); but he said that there appeared in the omens a kind of fraud and plot against me, manifestly because he knew that he was himself plotting to traduce me before you. For he spread abroad the report that I was intending to do these things at once, without getting your consent. Now if I saw that you were without resources, I should be looking about for a plan by which you might get possession of a city, with the provision that afterwards he who chose might sail back home at once, while he who did not wish to go at once might return after he had accumulated enough to bestow a little something upon his people at home. But since, in fact, I see that the Heracleots and Sinopeans are sending you the ships in which to sail away, and that men are promising you pay from the first of the month, it seems to me it is a fine thing to be carried safely where we want to go and at the same time to receive pay for our preservation; therefore I renounce that other project for myself, and I say, to all those who have come to me and expressed the view that it ought to be carried out, that they also should renounce it.

"For I hold this opinion: standing together and in force, as you are now, I think you will be held in honour and will have provisions, for in strength lies

τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων· διασπασθέντες δ᾽ ἂν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως οὔτ᾽ ἂν τροφὴν δύναισθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε χαίροντες
33 ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐάν τις μέντοι ἀπολιπὼν ληφθῇ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.

34 Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν ὡς δίκαιον εἴη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἠπείλουν αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ λήψονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν.
35 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἴη καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικὼς εἴη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίωνι καὶ Θώρακι ἐψευσμένοι
36 ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς οἷς ἀνεκεκοίνωντο ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, πάντες δ᾽ ἦσαν πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει, Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὔπω παρῆν, ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν
37 τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. Αἰήτου δὲ ὑιδοῦς ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι

the opportunity to wrest away the possessions of the weaker; but let yourselves get separated and your force broken up into small parts, and you would neither be able to obtain food to live on nor would you come off unharmed. I think, therefore, just as you do, that we should set out for Greece, and that if it does come to pass that any man is caught deserting before the entire army is in a place of safety, he should be brought to trial as a wrong-doer. And whoever is of this opinion," he continued, "let him raise his hand." Up went every hand.

Silanus, however, began shouting, and attempted to say that it was fair for any one who so chose to leave the army. But the soldiers would not allow him to speak, and they threatened him that as surely as they caught him running away, they would inflict due punishment upon him. After that, when the Heracleots learned that it had been voted to sail away, and that Xenophon himself had put the question to vote, they did send the ships, but in the matter of the money they had promised to Timasion and Thorax they turned out to be deceivers. Consequently the men who had promised the pay were panic-stricken, and stood in fear of the army. They therefore took with them the other generals to whom they had communicated their earlier doings—namely, all the generals except Neon the Asinaean, who was acting as lieutenant for Cheirisophus because Cheirisophus had not yet returned—and came to Xenophon, with the message that they had changed their minds and thought it was best to sail to the Phasis, inasmuch as there were ships at hand, and seize the land of the Phasians. Their king, as it chanced, was a grandson of Aeetes. Xenophon

οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε. ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς γνώμην οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὑτοῦ ἕκαστον λοχαγοὺς πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. καὶ ἀπελθόντες ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

VII. Ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο
ταραττόμενα. καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν
ἀναπεπεικὼς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς διανοεῖται
ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς
2 Φᾶσιν. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς
ἔφερον, καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι ξυνί-
σταντο καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ ποιήσειαν οἷα
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν καὶ τοὺς
3 ἀγορανόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾐσθάνετο Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν
αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν, καὶ
μὴ ἐᾶσαι ξυλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε
4 τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέξαι ἀγοράν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ
κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἑτοίμως.
ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατ-
ηγόρει, ὅτι ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε.
5 Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμὲ ὡς
ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. ἀκούσατε οὖν μου πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνωμαι ἀδικεῖν, οὐ χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικεῖν οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ

[1] As described by Xenophon in the following speech, §§ 13 ff.

replied that he would not say a word to the army about this plan; "but," he went on, "gather the men together and speak to them yourselves, if you wish." Then Timasion the Dardanian declared it as his opinion that they should not hold an assembly, but that each general should first endeavour to persuade his own captains. So they went away and set about doing this.

VII. The soldiers, accordingly, learned by inquiry that this plan was being agitated. And Neon said that Xenophon had won over the other generals and was intending to deceive the soldiers and lead them back to the Phasis. Upon hearing these words the soldiers were exceedingly angry; meetings were held, groups of them collected, and it was greatly to be feared that they would do the sort of things they had done to the heralds of the Colchians and the market clerks.[1] When Xenophon became aware of the situation, he decided to call an assembly of the men as speedily as possible and not to allow them to gather of their own accord; so he directed the herald to call an assembly. And as soon as the soldiers heard the herald, they rushed together with the utmost readiness. Then Xenophon, without mentioning against the generals the matter of their visit to him, spoke as follows:

"I hear, soldiers, that some one is bringing a charge against me, namely, that I am going to deceive you and lead you to the Phasis. In the name of the gods, then, give ear to my words, and if it appears that I am guilty of wrong, I ought not to leave this spot without paying the penalty; but if it appears to you that my accusers are guilty of wrong, they ought to be dealt with in such manner

6 ἄξιον. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἔφη, ἴστε δήπου ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου δύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν μέν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἰέναι, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δέ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοὔμπαλιν πρὸς ἕω. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτο ἂν δύναιτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι ὡς ἥλιος ἔνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει
7 δ' ἐντεῦθεν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς Φᾶσιν, καὶ λέγεται, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτ' οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι
8 ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν ὁπόταν νότος πνέῃ; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁπόταν γαλήνη ᾖ ἐμβιβῶ. οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὐλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν μὴ βουλομένους ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι;
9 ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ γοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἥκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γνώσεσθε δήπου ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὼς εἷς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων ἔχοντες ὅπλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίη δίκην ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὑτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος;

10 Ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἠλιθίων κἀμοὶ φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. καίτοι οὐ δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ

as they deserve. You doubtless know," he continued, "where the sun rises and where it sets; likewise, that if a man is to go to Greece, he must journey toward the west, while if he wishes to go to the lands of the barbarians, he must travel in the opposite direction, that is, toward the east. Now is there any one who could deceive you in this matter, by maintaining that the place where the sun rises is the one where it sets and the place where it sets is the one where it rises? Again, you surely know this also, that the north wind carries one out of the Euxine to Greece, while the south wind carries you within, to the Phasis—indeed, the saying is, 'When the north wind doth blow, fair voyaging to Greece.' In this matter, again, is it possible that any one could deceive you into embarking when the south wind is blowing? But I am going to put you aboard, you may say, when it is calm. Well, I shall be sailing on one ship, you on a hundred at least. How, then, could I either force you to voyage along with me if you did not choose, or deceive you into following my lead? But suppose you have been deceived and bewitched by me and we have come to the Phasis; we accordingly disembark upon the shore; you will perceive, likely enough, that you are not in Greece; and I, who have done the deceiving, will be one lone man, while you, the deceived, will be close to ten thousand, with arms in your hands. Then how could a man bring down punishment upon himself more surely than by planning in that way for himself and for you?

"Nay, these are the stories of foolish men, jealous of me because I enjoy honour at your hands. And yet they should not in fairness feel such jealousy;

αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι εἴ τις ἐθέλει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; τί γάρ, ἄρχοντας αἱρουμένων ὑμῶν ἐγώ τινι ἐμποδών εἰμι; παρίημι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω.

11 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα, λέγων διδα-

12 σκέτω. ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἅλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθητε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητε οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἴσχιστοι ἄνδρες ἀποφαινώμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων.

13 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε ὅ τι εἴη καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν· Ἐπίστασθέ που ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βαρβαρικά, φίλια τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον, δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες ἀγορά-

14 σαντές τι πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἴη καὶ ἀφύλακτον διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν

for whom among them do I hinder either from saying any good word he can before you, or from fighting if he will in your behalf and his own, or from being watchful in his care for your safety? Well, then, do I stand in any one's way when you are choosing commanders? I yield, let him be commander; only let it be shown that he renders you good service. For my part, however, what I have said on these points seems to me sufficient; but if any one among you imagines either that he could be deceived himself by such tales, or could deceive another by these tales, let him speak and explain. And when you have had enough of this, do not go away until you have heard what manner of evil I see beginning to show itself in the army; for if it comes upon us and proves to be as serious as it now shows signs of being, it is time for us to be taking counsel for ourselves, in order that we may not stand revealed as most wicked and base men, both in the sight of gods and mankind, of friends and enemies."

Upon hearing these words the soldiers fell to wondering what the thing was, and they bade Xenophon go on. So he began again: "You know, perhaps, that in the mountains there were barbarian strongholds, friendly to the Cerasuntians, from which people would come down and sell you cattle and other things which they had, and also, I believe, some of you went to the nearest of these strongholds and did some buying and came back again. Clearetus the captain, learning that this place was not only small, but also unguarded, for the reason that its inhabitants deemed themselves friendly, set forth against them by night with the idea of plundering the place, and without a word to any one

15 εἰπών. διενενόητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον,
εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, εἰσβὰς δὲ
εἰς πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ
παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθέμενος εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀπο-
πλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. καὶ ταῦτα
ξυνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι,
16 ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπό-
σους ἔπειθεν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. πορευόμενον
δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ ξυστάντες
οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ
παίοντες τόν τε Κλεάρετον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων συχνούς, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασοῦντα
17 αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ
ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν πεζῇ· τῶν δὲ πλεόντων
ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασοῦντι, οὔπω ἀνηγμένοι.

Μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν, ἀφ-
ικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν
γεραιτέρων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῄζοντες
18 ἐλθεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς
Κερασουντίους ἔλεγον ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν τί ἡμῖν δό-
ξειεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν,
ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα,
ἥδεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μέλλειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὡς
ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν
19 αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας. τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων
τινὰς Ἑλλήνων τυχεῖν ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Κερασοῦντι·

of us. It was his intention, in case he should capture this stronghold, not to come back again to the army, but to embark on a vessel upon which his messmates chanced to be sailing along the coast, to put aboard whatever plunder he might secure, and sailing out of the Euxine to go away. Indeed, as I now learn, his messmates on the vessel had concluded an agreement with him to this effect. He accordingly summoned all the men he could persuade, and set out at their head to march against the stronghold. While he was still on the march, however, the break of day surprised him, and the people of the place gathered together and, by throwing missiles and dealing blows from strong positions, killed Cleeretus and a good many of his followers, although some of them did make their way back to Cerasus. All this happened on the day when we were setting forth to come hither by land; and some of those who were going by sea were still at Cerasus, not having as yet set sail.

"After this, as the Cerasuntians say, there arrived at Cerasus three of the inhabitants of the stronghold, all elderly men, desiring to come before our general assembly. But since they did not find us, they addressed themselves to the Cerasuntians, saying that they wondered why we had seen fit to make an attack upon them. When, however, the Cerasuntians replied, so their statement ran, that it was not by public authority that the affair took place, the envoys were pleased, and were intending to sail hither in order to tell us what had happened, and to urge that we should ourselves take and bury the bodies of our dead. Now it chanced that some of the Greeks who had escaped were still at Cerasus;

M 2

αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅποι ἴοιεν αὐτοί
τε ἐτόλμησαν βαλεῖν τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
παρεκελεύοντο. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνῄσκουσι
τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις καταλευσθέντες.
20 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ
Κερασούντιοι καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς
οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγε-
νημένοις καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασουν-
τίοις ὅπως ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί.
21 συγκαθήμενοι δ᾽ ἔξωθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐξαίφνης ἀκού-
ομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ Παῖε, παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε,
καὶ τάχα δὴ ὁρῶμεν πολλοὺς προσθέοντας λίθους
ἔχοντας ἐν ταῖς χερσί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους.
22 καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασούντιοι, ὡς δὴ[1] καὶ ἑωρακότες
τὸ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δείσαντες ἀποχωροῦσι
πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. ἦσαν δὲ νὴ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν οἳ
23 ἔδεισαν. ἐγώ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἠρώτων ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν
οἳ οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς
χερσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδότι τινὶ ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι
ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στρά-
24 τευμα. ἐν τούτῳ τις ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρ-
χον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα, καὶ ἀνέ-
κραγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἢ συὸς ἀγρίου
25 ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος ἵενται ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ
Κερασούντιοι ὡς εἶδον ὁρμῶντας καθ᾽ αὐτούς,
σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεσθαι, φεύγουσι
δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ξυν-

[1] δὴ Gem., following Rehdantz: ἂν MSS., which Mar. brackets, following Poppo.

and when they learned whither the barbarians were going, they committed the shamelessness of not only attacking them with stones themselves, but urging others to do the same. And the men were killed, these three, who were ambassadors—stoned to death.

"When this had taken place, the Cerasuntians came to us and told us of the affair; and we generals, upon hearing the story, were distressed at what had happened, and we proceeded to take counsel with the Cerasuntians as to how the bodies of the Greek dead might be buried. While we were in session outside the camp, we suddenly heard a great uproar and shouts of 'Strike! strike! pelt! pelt!' and in a moment we saw a crowd of men rushing toward us with stones in their hands and others picking up stones. And the Cerasuntians, having witnessed, mark you, the affair in their own city, were naturally terrified, and hurried back toward their ships. For that matter, by Zeus, there were some of our own number who were terrified. I went up to the men, however, and asked what the trouble was. Some of them did not know at all, but nevertheless they had stones in their hands. When I did come upon a man who knew, he told me that the market-clerks were treating the army most outrageously. At this moment some one saw the market-clerk, Zelarchus, retreating toward the sea, and set up a shout; and when the rest heard it, they rushed upon him as though a wild boar or a stag had been sighted. And now the Cerasuntians, seeing this rush in their neighbourhood and believing it was undoubtedly directed against themselves, took to running in their flight and threw themselves into the sea. Some of

εισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνίγετο
26 ὅστις νεῖν μὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος. καὶ τού-
τους τί δοκεῖτε; ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δὲ
μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτώκοι.
Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε οἵα ἡ
27 κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὑμεῖς μὲν
οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι πόλε-
μον ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε οὔτε καταλῦσαι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ
βουλόμενος ἄξει στράτευμα ἐφʼ ὅ τι ἂν θέλῃ.
κἄν τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις εἰρήνης δεόμε-
νοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ
βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦ-
28 σαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. ἔπειτα δὲ οὓς μὲν
ἂν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἕλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ
χώρᾳ ἔσονται, ὅστις δὲ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἕληται στρα-
τηγὸν καὶ ἐθέλῃ λέγειν Βάλλε, βάλλε, οὗτος ἔσται
ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακανεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτην ὃν ἂν
ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ ἄκριτον, ἢν ὦσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ,
29 ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπρά-
χασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοὶ σκέψασθε.
Ζήλαρχος μὲν ὁ ἀγορανόμος εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς,
οἴχεται ἀποπλέων οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ
ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος δείσας μὴ
30 ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες
τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασοῦντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἂν
μὴ σὺν ἰσχύι ἀφικνῆσθε· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς οὓς

our own men also plunged in with them, and any who did not chance to know how to swim were drowned. Now what think you about these Cerasuntians? They had done no wrong, but they were afraid that a kind of madness, such as attacks dogs, had seized upon us.

"Now if these doings are to go on in this way, observe what the situation of your army will be. You, the general body, will not have it in your power either to undertake war upon whom you please or to bring war to an end, but any individual who wishes will be leading an army to gain any end he may desire. And if people come to you as ambassadors, desiring peace or anything else, any who choose will kill them and prevent you from hearing the words of those who come to confer with you. Furthermore, the men whom you as a body may choose for commanders will be of no account, but whoever may choose himself general and will raise the cry 'Pelt, pelt,' that man will have the power to slay either commander or private, any one of you he pleases, without a trial, provided—as indeed it came about in the present case—there are people who will obey him. Consider the sort of things these self-chosen generals have actually accomplished for you. Take Zelarchus, the market-clerk: supposing he has done you wrong, he has sailed off without paying you the penalty; supposing he is not guilty, he has fled from the army out of fear that he might be slain unjustly and without a trial. Take those who stoned to death the ambassadors: they have accomplished this result, that you alone of all the Greeks cannot go to Cerasus safely unless you arrive there with a strong force; and as

πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακανόντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκείῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἀνελέσθαι. τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσει κῆρυξ ἰέναι κήρυκας ἀπεκτονώς; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθημεν.

31 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἵνα ὡς τοιούτων ἐσομένων καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια πειρᾶται ἔχων
32 σκηνοῦν. εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διὸς πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχούμεθα, ἢν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν;
33 πόλις δὲ φιλία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἥτις ἂν ὁρᾷ τοσαύτην ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρρῶν, ἢν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινώμεθα; οὗ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσει[1]; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίημεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.

34 Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστῆσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας καὶ

[1] τίς . . . ἐπαινέσει Gem., following Dindorf: τίς . . . ἐπαινέσειεν the better MSS.: τίς ἂν . . . ἐπαινέσειεν the inferior MSS., Mar.

[1] In Greece.

for the dead whom previously the very men who killed them proposed burying, the result accomplished is, that now it is not safe to pick up their bodies even for one who carries a herald's staff. For who will care to go as herald when he has the blood of heralds upon his hands? So we requested the Cerasuntians to bury them.

"Now if these things are right, do you so resolve, in order that, with the understanding that such deeds are to be done, a man may establish his own private guard and may endeavour to hold possession of the strong places overhanging him on the right when he encamps. If, however, you think that such deeds are those of wild beasts and not of human beings, look about for some means of stopping them; otherwise, how, in the name of Zeus, shall we offer glad sacrifices to the gods when we are doing impious deeds, or how shall we fight with enemies if we are slaying one another? And what friendly city will receive us when it sees so great lawlessness amongst us? Who will dare to supply us a market if in matters of the greatest import we show ourselves guilty of such offences? And in that land[1] where we are always fancying that we shall obtain praise from every one, who will praise us if we are men of this sort? For we ourselves, I am quite sure, should say that people who perform such deeds are scoundrels."

Hereupon all rose and proposed that the men who began this affair should be duly punished, and that henceforth no one should be again permitted to make a beginning of lawlessness; but if any should so begin, they were to be put on trial for their lives; and the generals were to bring all offenders to trial,

εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἠδίκητο ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε· δικα-
35 στὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποιήσαντο. παραινοῦντος
δὲ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν μάντεων συμβουλευόντων
ἔδοξε καθῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἐγένετο κα-
θαρμός.

VIII. Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην
ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. καὶ διδόν-
των Φιλήσιος μὲν ὦφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλα-
κῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα εἴκοσι
μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι αἱρεθεὶς[1] κατημέλει,
δέκα μνᾶς.

Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες φάσκοντες
παίεσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατ-
2 ηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκέλευσεν
εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. ὁ
δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπου καὶ ῥίγει ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ
3 χιὼν πλείστη ἦν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μὴν χει-
μῶνός γε ὄντος οἵου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοι-
πότος, οἴνου δὲ μηδ᾽ ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ
πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων δὲ ἑπο-
μένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὕβριζον, ὁμολογῶ καὶ
τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς
ὕβρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ
4 λέξον, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. πότερον ᾔτουν τί
σε καὶ ἐπεί μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους ἔπαιον; ἀλλ᾽ ἀπῄ-

[1] After αἱρεθεὶς editors generally, following Leunclavius, assume a lacuna.

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[1] *cp.* i. 16. [2] *cp.* iii. 1, and see critical note.

and trials were likewise to be held in the matter of any other offences which any one had committed since the time when Cyrus was killed; and they appointed the captains to serve as a jury. Further, upon the recommendation of Xenophon, and by the advice of the soothsayers, it was resolved to purify the army. So the rites of purification were performed.

VIII. It was likewise resolved that the generals should undergo an inquiry with reference to their past conduct. When they presented their statements, Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned, for their careless guarding of the merchantmen's cargoes,[1] to pay the loss incurred, namely, twenty minas, and Sophaenetus, for neglect of duty in the office to which he had been chosen,[2] was fined ten minas.

Accusations were also made against Xenophon by certain men who claimed that he had beaten them, and so brought the charge of wanton assault. Xenophon bade the first man who spoke to state where it was that he had struck him. He replied, "In the place where we were perishing with cold and there was an enormous amount of snow." And Xenophon said, "Well, really, with weather of the sort you describe and provisions used up and no chance even to get a smell of wine, when many of us were becoming exhausted with hardships and the enemy were at our heels, if at such a time as that I wantonly abused you, I admit that I am more wanton even than the ass, which, because of its wantonness, so the saying runs, is not subject to fatigue. Nevertheless, do tell us," he said, "for what reason you were struck. Did I ask you for something, and then strike you because you would not give it to me?

τουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ
5 μεθύων ἐπαρῴνησα; ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν,
ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ ὁπλιτεύοι. οὐκ ἔφη· πάλιν εἰ
πελτάζοι. οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔφη, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν
6 ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων ἐλεύθερος ὤν. ἐνταῦ-
θα δὴ ἀναγιγνώσκει αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο· Ἦ σὺ εἶ
ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀγαγών; Ναὶ μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη· σὺ
γὰρ ἠνάγκαζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκεύη
7 διέρριψας. Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενο-
φῶν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο. διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν
καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν
ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ
ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο
ἀκούσατε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον.
8 Ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι
πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον
ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι εἷς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἠνάγκασα δὲ σὲ
τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ
οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο. συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ
9 ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ προύπεμ-
ψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὖθις σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύ-
λαξι προσιὼν βόθρον ὀρύττοντα ὡς κατορύξοντα
10 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπῄνουν σε. ἐπεὶ
δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος
ἁνήρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνήρ, σὺ δ᾽
εἶπας· Ὁπόσα γε βούλεται· ὡς ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ
ἄξω. ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας

Did I demand something back? Was it in a fight over a favourite? Was it an act of drunken violence?" When the man replied that it was none of these things, Xenophon asked him if he was a hoplite. He said no. Was he a peltast, then? No, not that either, he said, but he had been detailed by his messmates, although he was a free man, to drive a mule. At that Xenophon recognized him, and asked: "Are you the fellow who carried the sick man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "for you forced me to do so; and you scattered my messmates' baggage all about." "Why, the scattering," said Xenophon, "was after this fashion: I distributed it among others to carry and directed them to bring it back to me, and when I got it back, I returned the whole of it to you intact when you, for your part, had shown me the sick man. But listen, all of you," he continued, "and hear how the affair happened; for the story is worth hearing.

"A man was being left behind because he was unable to keep going any longer. I was acquainted with the man only so far as to know that he was one of our number, and I forced you, sir, to carry him in order that he might not perish; for, as I remember, the enemy were following after us." To that the fellow agreed. "Well," Xenophon continued, "after I had sent you on ahead, I overtook you again, as I came along with the rearguard, and found you digging a hole to bury the man in, and I stopped and commended you. But when, as we were standing by, the man drew up his leg, all of us cried out, 'The man is alive'; and you said, 'Let him be alive just as much as he pleases, I, for my part, am not going to carry him.' Then I struck you; your

11 γάρ μοι εἰδότι ἐοικέναι ὅτι ἔζη. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἧττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγώ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι;

12 Τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον ὡς ὀλίγας παίσειεν· ἄλλους δ' ἐκέλευε λέγειν διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη.
13 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἕνεκεν ἀταξίας ὅσοις σῴζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι' ὑμῶν ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων ὅπου δέοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις προθέοντες ἁρπάζειν ἤθελον καὶ ὑμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιοῦμεν,
14 ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. ἤδη δὲ καὶ μαλακιζόμενόν τινα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι ἀλλὰ προϊέμενον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἔπαισα καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον κατέμαθον
15 ἀναστὰς μόλις καὶ τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας. ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πεῖραν λαβὼν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὁπότε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα, τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἑώρων ὑπουργὸν ὂν τῷ τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ τῷ ἀποσήπεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους, ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόν-

story is true; for it looked to me as if you knew that he was alive." "Well, what of that," the fellow said; "didn't he die all the same after I had shown him to you?" "Why," said Xenophon, "all of us are likewise going to die; but should we on that account be buried alive?"

As for this fellow, everybody cried out that Xenophon had given him fewer blows than he deserved. Then he directed the rest to state the reason why each one of them had been struck. When they failed to rise, he went on himself: "I admit, soldiers, that I have indeed struck men for neglect of discipline, the men who were content to be kept safe by you who marched in due order and fought wherever there was need, while they themselves would leave the ranks and run on ahead in the desire to secure plunder and to enjoy an advantage over you. For if all of us had behaved in this way, all of us alike would have perished. Again, when a man behaved like a weakling and refused to get up, preferring to leave himself a prey to the enemy, I did indeed strike him and use violence to compel him to go on. For once during the severe weather I myself remained seated for quite a long time, waiting for some people who were packing up, and I discovered that it was hard work to get up and stretch my legs. Having tested the matter, then, in my own case, I used after that to drive on any other man whom I might see sitting down and shirking; for getting into motion and acting like a man produced a certain amount of warmth and suppleness, while sitting and keeping quiet tended, as I saw, to make the blood freeze and the toes rot off, just the misfortunes which many people

16 τας. ἄλλον δέ γε ἴσως ἀπολειπόμενόν που διὰ
ῥᾳστώνην καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν
καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὄπισθεν πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ,
17 ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παίοιτο. καὶ
γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. εἰ
δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως
ἔπαθον ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἠξίουν λαμβάνειν;
18 Ἁπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην οἵαν καὶ γονεῖς
υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισί· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ
19 καίουσι καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ· εἰ δὲ ὕβρει
νομίζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι νῦν
ἐγὼ θαρρῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε καὶ
θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω,
ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν εὐδίᾳ γὰρ ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς.
20 ὅταν δὲ χειμὼν ᾖ καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται,
οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου ἕνεκα χαλε-
παίνει μὲν πρῳρεὺς τοῖς ἐν πρῴρᾳ, χαλεπαίνει
δὲ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ; ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἁμαρτηθέντα πάντα συν-
21 επιτρῖψαι. ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ
ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε· ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους,
παρέστατε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ
ἐβούλεσθε· ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκου-

[1] The speaker implies in this sarcastic way that they would have met their death, and would not be talking now about satisfaction for that or anything else.

suffered, as you know for yourselves. In still another case, the man, perhaps, who fell behind somewhere out of indolence and prevented both you in the van and us in the rear from going on, I struck such a one with the fist in order that the enemy might not strike him with the lance. Indeed, that is the reason why these people, having been saved, now have it in their power to obtain satisfaction for whatever they suffered unjustly at my hands. But if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, what suffering would they have experienced so great that they would now be asking to obtain satisfaction for it?[1]

"My defence," he continued, "is simple: if it was for his good that I punished any one, I think I should render the sort of account that parents render to sons and teachers to pupils; for that matter, surgeons also burn and cut patients for their good; but if you believe it was out of wantonness that I did these things, take note that now, by the blessing of the gods, I am more confident than I was then and that I am bolder now than then and drink more wine, but nevertheless I strike no man—for the reason that I see you are in calm waters. But when it is stormy weather and a high sea is running, do you not observe that even for a mere nod the lookout gets angry with the people at the prow and the helmsman angry with the people at the stern? For in such a situation even small blunders are enough to ruin everything. But you rendered judgment yourselves that I was justified in striking those men; for you stood by, with swords, not ballots, in your hands, and it was within your power to come to their aid if you chose; but, by Zeus, you would neither

ῥεῖτε οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε.
22 τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐῶντες αὐτούς.

Οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὑρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτά-
23 τους. Βοΐσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλὸς τότε μὲν διεμάχετο ὡς κάμνων ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δέ, ὡς ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέ-
24 δυκεν. ἢν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τοῦτον τἀναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιᾶσι, τοῦτον δέ, ἢν σωφρονῆτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.

25 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω ὅτι εἰ μέν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην, μέμνησθε καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δέ τῳ ἢ χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα[1] ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυξα ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦντι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς μέμνηται, οὐδ᾽ εἴ τινα καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπῄνεσα οὐδ᾽ εἴ τινα ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἐτίμησα
26 ὡς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲν τούτων μέμνησθε. ἀλλὰ μὴν καλόν τε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνῆσθαι.

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμίμνῃσκον. καὶ περιεγένετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

[1] ἐπεκούρησα MSS., Mar.: ἐπεκούφισα Gem., following Reiske.

give those people aid nor would you join with me in striking such as violated discipline. Consequently you gave the bad among them freedom to act wantonly by thus letting them alone.

"For I think, if you care to look into the matter, you will find it is the very same men who were then most cowardly that are now most wanton. At any rate, Boïscus the boxer, of Thessaly, then fought hard to escape carrying his shield, on the plea that he was tired, but now, as I hear, he has already stripped off the clothes of many Cotyorites. If you are wise, therefore, you will do to this fellow the opposite of what people do to dogs; for dogs that are savage are tied up by day and let loose by night, but this fellow, if you are wise, you will tie up by night and let loose by day.

"But really," he continued, "I am surprised that if ever I incurred the ill-will of any one among you, you remember that and are not silent about it, while if I protected any one from the cold, or warded off an enemy from him, or helped to provide something for him when he was sick or in want, these acts, on the other hand, are not remembered by anybody; nor, again, if I praised a man for a deed well done, or honoured according to my ability a man who was brave, do you remember any of these things. Yet surely it is more honourable and fair, more righteous and gracious to remember good deeds than evil."

Then people began getting up and recalling past incidents, and in the end all was pleasant.

BOOK VI

ϛ

I. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς[1] ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. ἐκλώπευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τοὺς πρόσω σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τούτων.
2 ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις ἔχοντας ἵππους καὶ στολὰς καλάς, λέγοντας ὅτι Κορύλας ἕτοιμος εἴη τοὺς Ἕλληνας μήτε ἀδικεῖν
3 μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ βουλεύσοιντο, ἐπὶ ξένια δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐδόκουν
4 δικαιοτάτους εἶναι. θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρεῖχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν σκίμποσιν ἐδείπνουν, καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατίνων ποτηρίων, οἷς ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν Θρᾷκες καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἥλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐδόκει·

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[1] *cp.* v. v. 24 ff. [2] *cp.* v. v. 12 and note.

BOOK VI

I. After this, while they delayed at Cotyora, some of the men lived by purchasing from the market[1] and others by pillaging the territory of Paphlagonia. The Paphlagonians, however, were extremely clever in kidnapping the stragglers, and at night time they tried to inflict harm upon such of the Greeks as were quartered at some distance from the rest; consequently they and the Greeks were in a very hostile mood toward one another. Then Corylas,[2] who chanced at the time to be ruler of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks, with horses and fine raiment, bearing word that Corylas was ready to do the Greeks no wrong and to suffer no wrong at their hands. The generals replied that they would take counsel with the army on this matter, but meanwhile they received the ambassadors as their guests at dinner, inviting in also such of the other men in the army as seemed to them best entitled to an invitation. By sacrificing some of the cattle they had captured and also other animals they provided an adequate feast, and they dined reclining upon couches and drank from cups made of horn which they found in the country.

After they had made libations and sung the paean, two Thracians rose up first and began a dance in full armour to the music of a flute, leaping high and lightly and using their sabres; finally, one struck the other, as everybody thought, and the second

6 ὁ δ᾽ ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς πως. καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ
Παφλαγόνες. καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυλεύσας τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ
ἑτέρου ἐξῄει ᾄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν
Θρᾳκῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνηκότα· ἦν δὲ
7 οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγ-
νητες ἀνέστησαν, οἳ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν
8 καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς
ὀρχήσεως ἦν, ὁ μὲν παραθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα σπείρει
καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ δὲ στρεφόμενος ὡς φοβού-
μενος, λῃστὴς δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ᾽ ἐπειδὰν
προΐδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἁρπάσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεται
πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν ἐν
ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ λῃστὴς
δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ
καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν λῃστήν· εἶτα παρὰ τοὺς
βοῦς ζεύξας ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.
9 μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ
ἔχων πέλτην, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων
μιμούμενος ὠρχεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἕνα ἐχρῆτο
ταῖς πέλταις, τοτὲ δ᾽ ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα
ἔχων τὰς πέλτας, ὥστε ὄψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι.
10 τέλος δὲ τὸ περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο κρούων τὰς πέλτας
καὶ ὤκλαζε καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
11 ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ
οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀνα-
στάντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα
ᾖσάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν
αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ

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[1] A Thracian war-song, apparently composed in honour of an early king named Sitalcas.

[2] A dance known to us from this passage only.

man fell, in a rather skilful way. And the Paphlagonians set up a cry. Then the first man despoiled the other of his arms and marched out singing the Sitalcas,[1] while other Thracians carried off the fallen dancer, as though he were dead; in fact, he had not been hurt at all. After this some Aenianians and Magnesians arose and danced under arms the so-called carpaea.[2] The manner of the dance was this: a man is sowing and driving a yoke of oxen, his arms laid at one side, and he turns about frequently as one in fear; a robber approaches; as soon as the sower sees him coming, he snatches up his arms, goes to meet him, and fights with him to save his oxen. The two men do all this in rhythm to the music of the flute. Finally, the robber binds the man and drives off the oxen; or sometimes the master of the oxen binds the robber, and then he yokes him alongside the oxen, his hands tied behind him, and drives off. After this a Mysian came in carrying a light shield in each hand, and at one moment in his dance he would go through a pantomime as though two men were arrayed against him, again he would use his shields as though against one antagonist, and again he would whirl and throw somersaults while holding the shields in his hands, so that the spectacle was a fine one. Lastly, he danced the Persian dance, clashing his shields together and crouching down and then rising up again; and all this he did, keeping time to the music of the flute. After him the Mantineans and some of the other Arcadians arose, arrayed in the finest arms and accoutrements they could command, and marched in time to the accompaniment of a flute playing the martial rhythm and sang the paean and danced, just as the Arcadians

ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. ὁρῶντες δὲ
οἱ Παφλαγόνες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχή-
12 σεις ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς
ἐκπεπληγμένους αὐτούς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων
τινὰ πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα εἰσάγει σκευάσας
ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην
13 αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρρίχην ἐλαφρῶς. ἐνταῦθα
κρότος ἦν πολύς, καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἤροντο εἰ
καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον
ὅτι αὗται καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου. τῇ μὲν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ
τέλος ἐγένετο.

14 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρά-
τευμα· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε ἀδικεῖν
Παφλαγόνας μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ
μὲν πρέσβεις ᾤχοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ
πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρεῖναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον
ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι καλῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
15 ἔχοντες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦν-
ται εἰς Σινώπην καὶ ὡρμίσαντο εἰς Ἁρμήνην τῆς
Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλα-
γονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοί εἰσιν. οὗτοι δὲ
ξένια πέμπουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους
τρισχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ κεράμια χίλια καὶ πεντα-
κόσια.

16 Καὶ Χειρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρη ἔχων.
καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται προσεδόκων ἄγοντά τι
σφίσιν ἥκειν· ὁ δ' ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δὲ
ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος

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[1] A famous war-dance.
[2] The *medimnus* = about a bushel and a half.

do in their festal processions in honour of the gods. And the Paphlagonians, as they looked on, thought it most strange that all the dances were under arms. Thereupon the Mysian, seeing how astounded they were, persuaded one of the Arcadians who had a dancing girl to let him bring her in, after dressing her up in the finest way he could and giving her a light shield. And she danced the Pyrrhic[1] with grace. Then there was great applause, and the Paphlagonians asked whether women also fought by their side. And the Greeks replied that these women were precisely the ones who put the King to flight from his camp. Such was the end of that evening.

On the next day they introduced the ambassadors to the army, and the soldiers passed a resolution to do the Paphlagonians no wrong and to suffer no wrong at their hands. After this the ambassadors departed, and the Greeks, inasmuch as it seemed that vessels enough were at hand, embarked and sailed for a day and a night with a fair wind, keeping Paphlagonia on the left. On the second day they reached Sinope, and came to anchor at Harmene, in the territory of Sinope. The Sinopeans dwell, indeed, in Paphlagonia, but are colonists of the Milesians. And they sent to the Greeks, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand *medimni*[2] of barley meal and fifteen hundred jars of wine.

Here Cheirisophus[3] also came, with a man-of-war. And the soldiers expected that he had brought them something; in fact, however, he brought nothing, save the report that the admiral Anaxibius[3] and

[3] *cp.* v. i. 3–4.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφίκοιντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς
17 ἔσεσθαι. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἁρμήνῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας πέντε.

Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γίγνεσθαι, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῄει αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἂν
18 καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται. ἡγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἕνα ἕλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὖ δέοι φθάνειν, ἧττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἑνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἄν· τὸν δ᾽ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἔπραττον πάντα οἱ στρατηγοί.

19 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διενοοῦντο, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιόντες αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γιγνώσκει, καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι
20 τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μείζω οὕτως ἑαυτῷ γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὔνομα μεῖζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ
21 τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν

the others commended them, and that Anaxibius promised that if they got outside the Euxine, they should have regular pay. Here at Harmene the troops remained for five days.

By this time, since it seemed that they were getting near Greece, the question came into their minds more than before how they might reach home with a little something in hand. They came to the conclusion, therefore, that if they should choose one commander, that one man would be able to handle the army better, whether by night or day, than a number of commanders—that if there should be need of concealment, he would be better able to keep matters secret, or again, if there should be need of getting ahead of an adversary, he would be less likely to be too late; for, thought the soldiers, there would be no need of conferences of generals with one another, but the plan resolved upon by the one man would be carried through, whereas in the past the generals had acted in all matters in accordance with a majority vote.

As they thought over these things they turned to Xenophon; the captains came to him and said that this was the opinion of the army, and each one of them, with manifestations of good will, urged him to undertake the command. As for Xenophon, he was inclined on some accounts to accept the command, for he thought that if he did so the greater would be the honour he would enjoy among his friends and the greater his name when it should reach his city, while, furthermore, it might chance that he could be the means of accomplishing some good thing for the army. Such considerations, then, roused in him an earnest desire to become sole com-

αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. ὁπότε δ' αὖ
ἐνθυμοῖτο ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅπῃ
τὸ μέλλον ἕξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ
τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἠπορεῖτο.
22 Διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρῖναι ἔδοξε κρά-
τιστον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παρα-
στησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ,
ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ
ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἑωρακέναι
ὃ εἶδεν ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς
23 στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι. καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου
ὡρμᾶτο Κύρῳ συσταθησόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνεμιμνή-
σκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθήμενον
μέντοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν
ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ
ἔνδοξος, ἐπίπονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα
ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι
χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν γὰρ αἰετὸν
πετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
24 οὕτω δὴ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει
μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰ αἱροῖντο
ἀποδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο.
25 Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἕνα
αἱρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προυβάλλοντο
αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι αἱρή-

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[1] *cp.* III. i. 5 ff. [2] *cp.* III. i. 11 f.
[3] *cp.* III. i. 8.

mander. On the other hand, when he reflected that no man can see clearly how the future will turn out and that for this reason there was danger that he might even lose the reputation he had already won, he was doubtful.

Quite unable as he was to decide the question, it seemed best to him to consult the gods; and he accordingly brought two victims to the altar and proceeded to offer sacrifice to King Zeus, the very god that the oracle at Delphi had prescribed for him;[1] and it was likewise from this god, as he believed, that the dream[2] came which he had at the time when he took the first steps toward assuming a share in the charge of the army. Moreover, he recalled that when he was setting out from Ephesus to be introduced to Cyrus,[3] an eagle screamed upon his right; it was sitting, however, and the soothsayer who was conducting him said that while the omen was one suited to the great rather than to an ordinary person, and while it betokened glory, it nevertheless portended suffering, for the reason that other birds are most apt to attack the eagle when it is sitting; still, he said, the omen did not betoken gain, for it is rather while the eagle is on the wing that it gets its food. So it was, then, that Xenophon made sacrifice, and the god signified to him quite clearly that he should neither strive for the command nor accept it in case he should be chosen. Such was the issue of this matter.

Then the army came together, and all the speakers urged that a single commander be chosen; when this had been resolved upon, they proceeded to nominate Xenophon. And when it seemed clear that they would elect him as soon as the question

σονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη καὶ
ἔλεξε τάδε.

26 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἥδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος,
εἴπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω καὶ εὔχομαι
δοῦναί μοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἴτιόν τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ
γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν
ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος οὔτε
ὑμῖν μοι δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἧττον ἂν διὰ
τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐμοί
τε αὖ οὐ πάνυ τι νομίζω ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο.
27 ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν
ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν
τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν
28 ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡμολόγησαν, εὐθὺς
ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρ-
κησαν τὴν πόλιν. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐγὼ δοκοίην
ὅπου δυναίμην ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων
ἀξίωμα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονι-
29 σθείην. ὃ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἧττον ἂν στάσις
εἴη ἑνὸς ἄρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἄλλον
μὲν ἑλόμενοι οὐχ εὑρήσετε ἐμὲ στασιάζοντα·
νομίζω γὰρ ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὢν στασιάζει πρὸς
ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στα-
σιάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐμὲ ἕλησθε, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ
τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον.
30 Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἶπε, πολὺ πλείονες ἀνίσταντο λέ-

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[1] *cp. Hellenica* II. ii. 20.

should be put to vote, he arose and spoke as follows:

"I am happy, soldiers, since I am a human being, to be honoured by you, and I am grateful also, and I pray that the gods may grant me opportunity to be the means of bringing you some benefit; still, I think that for me to be preferred by you as commander when a Lacedaemonian is at hand, is not expedient for you,—for you would be less likely on this account to obtain any favour you might desire from the Lacedaemonians—and for myself, on the other hand, I believe it is not altogether safe. For I see that the Lacedaemonians did not cease waging war upon my native state until they had made all her citizens acknowledge that the Lacedaemonians were their leaders also.[1] But just as soon as this acknowledgment had been made, they straightway ceased waging war and no longer continued to besiege the city. Now if I, being aware of these things, should seem to be trying to make their authority null and void wherever I could, I suspect that I might very speedily be brought back to reason on that point. As to your own thought, that there would be less factiousness with one commander than with many, be well assured that if you choose another, you will not find me acting factiously,—for I believe that when a man engaged in war factiously opposes a commander, that man is factiously opposing his own safety; but if you choose me, I should not be surprised if you should find some one else feeling angry both with you and with myself."

When he had thus spoken, a much larger number of people arose, saying that he ought to be com-

γοντες ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι· ἦ ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐὰν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμποσίαρχον αἱρῶνται; ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔφη, οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὡς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου ἀνεθορύβησαν.

31 Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὡς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὀμνύω ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἦ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ᾐσθανόμην, ἐθυόμην εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑποστῆναι· καί μοι οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γνῶναι ὅτι τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαί με δεῖ.

32 Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἱροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ᾑρέθη, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἐστασίαζον, εἰ ἄλλον εἵλεσθε· Ξενοφῶντα μέντοι, ἔφη, ὠνήσατε οὐχ ἑλόμενοι· ὡς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον ὅ τι ἐδύνατο καὶ μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔφη νομίζειν αὐτὸν Τιμασίωνι μᾶλλον συνάρχειν ἂν ἐθελῆσαι[1] Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι τοῦ Κλεάρχου στρατεύ-
33 ματος ἢ ἑαυτῷ[2] Λάκωνι ὄντι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἵλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι

[1] συνάρχειν ἂν ἐθελῆσαι Gem., following Cobet: συνάρχειν ἐθελῆσαι the inferior MSS.: ἄρχειν συνεθελῆσαι the better MSS., Mar. [2] ἑαυτῷ MSS., Mar.: ἐμαυτῷ Gem.

[1] *cp.* v. i. 15.

mander. And Agasias the Stymphalian said that it was ridiculous if the situation was as Xenophon described it. "Will the Lacedaemonians also be angry," he said, "if guests at dinner come together and fail to choose a Lacedaemonian as master of the feast? For if the matter stands in that way, we are not free even to be captains, it would seem, because we are Arcadians." Thereupon the soldiers raised a shout, saying that Agasias was quite right.

Then Xenophon, seeing that something more was needed, came forward and spoke again: "Well, soldiers," he said, "that you may understand the matter fully I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses that in very truth, so soon as I became aware of your intention, I offered sacrifices to learn whether it was best for you to entrust to me this command and for me to undertake it; and the gods gave me such signs in the sacrifices that even a layman could perceive that I must withhold myself from accepting the sole command."

Under these circumstances, then, they chose Cheirisophus. And after being chosen Cheirisophus came forward and spoke as follows: "Well, soldiers, be sure of this, that I also should not have acted factiously if you had chosen another; as for Xenophon, however," he continued, "you did him a kindness by not choosing him; for even now Dexippus[1] has already been falsely accusing him, as far as he could, to Anaxibius, even though I tried hard to silence him. He said he believed that Xenophon would rather share the command of Clearchus' army with Timasion, a Dardanian, than with himself, a Laconian. However," Cheirisophus went on, "since you have chosen me, I shall endeavour to render you whatever

ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε ὡς αὔριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.

II. Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι ἔπλεον καλῷ ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. καὶ παραπλέοντες[1] ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Μεγαρέων ἄποικον, οὖσαν δ' ἐν τῇ
2 Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. καὶ ὡρμίσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιάδι Χερρονήσῳ, ἔνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι ᾗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύασι τῆς καταβάσεως τὸ βάθος πλέον
3 ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια. ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τρισχιλίους καὶ οἴνου κεράμια δισχίλια καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι καὶ οἶς ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὡς δύο πλέθρων.
4 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέντες ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρὴ πορευθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιὸς εἶπε· Θαυμάζω μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ

[1] After παραπλέοντες the MSS. proceed as follows (see translation on opposite page): ἐθεώρουν τήν τε Ἰασονίαν ἀκτήν, ἔνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὁρμίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἴριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἅλυος, μετὰ τοῦτον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ παραπλεύσαντες—The statements here contained are geographically impossible, and the passage is regarded by edd. generally as an interpolation.

service I can. And do you make your preparations to put to sea to-morrow if it be sailing weather. The voyage will be to Heracleia; every one of us, therefore, must try to come to land there; and we shall take counsel about our further doings when we have arrived there."

II. On the next day they set sail from Sinope and voyaged for two days with a fair wind along the coast. And coursing along,[1] they arrived at Heracleia, a Greek city and a colony of the Megarians, situated in the territory of the Mariandynians. And they came to anchor alongside the Acherusian Chersonese, where Heracles is said to have descended to Hades after the dog Cerberus, at a spot where they now show the marks of his descent, reaching to a depth of more than two stadia. Here the Heracleots sent to the Greeks, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand *medimni* of barley meal, two thousand jars of wine, twenty cattle, and a hundred sheep. And in this place there flows through the plain a river named the Lycus, about two plethra in width.

Then the soldiers gathered together and proceeded to take counsel about the remainder of the journey, that is, whether they had better go on from the Euxine by land or by sea. And Lycon the Achaean rose and said: "I am astonished, soldiers, that the generals do not endeavour to supply us with money to buy provisions; for our gifts of hospitality will not make three days' rations for the

[1] Notes of the voyage (see opposite page):—They saw Jason's Cape, where the Argo is said to have come to anchor, and the mouths of the rivers, first the Thermodon, then the Iris, third the Halys, and after that the Parthenius; and after they had passed this river—

γένηται τῇ στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία· ὁπόθεν
δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευσόμεθα οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη.
ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλατ-
5 τον ἢ τρισχιλίους κυζικηνούς· ἄλλος δ' εἶπε μὴ
ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἑλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα
μάλα ἡμῶν καθημένων πέμπειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν,
καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα
6 βουλεύεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν προυβάλλοντο πρέσβεις
πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ᾕρητο· ἔστι δ'
οἳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο·
ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταὐτὰ ἐδόκει μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν
Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλίαν ὅ τι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες
7 διδοῖεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι,
πέμπουσι Λύκωνα Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Καλλίμαχον
Παρράσιον καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. οὗτοι ἐλ-
θόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν
8 καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα. ἀκού-
σαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται βουλεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν·
καὶ εὐθὺς τά τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνῆγον
καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴσω ἀνεσκεύασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι
ἐκέκλειντο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὅπλα ἐφαίνετο.
9 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταράξαντες ταῦτα τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς ᾐτιῶντο διαφθείρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ
συνίσταντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προει-
στήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καλλίμαχός τε ὁ
10 Παρράσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. οἱ δὲ λόγοι

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[1] *cp.* note on v. vi. 23.

army; and there is no place," said he, "from which we can procure provisions before beginning our journey. I move, therefore, that we demand of the Heracleots not less than three thousand Cyzicenes"[1] —another man said, not less than ten thousand— "and that we choose ambassadors this very moment, while we are in session here, send them to the city, hear whatever report they may bring back, and take counsel in the light of that." Thereupon they went to nominating ambassadors, first Cheirisophus, because he had been chosen commander, and some nominated Xenophon also. Both men, however, offered vigorous resistance; for both held the same view—that they ought not to coerce a friendly city of Greeks into giving what they did not offer of their own accord. As these two seemed disinclined to act, they sent Lycon the Achaean, Callimachus the Parrhasian, and Agasias the Stymphalian. These men went and put before the Heracleots the resolutions adopted by the army; and Lycon, so the report ran, even added threats, in case they should refuse compliance. After hearing the ambassadors, the Heracleots said that they would consider the matter; and immediately they set about gathering their property from the country and moved the market within the walls; meanwhile the gates had been closed and arms were to be seen upon the walls.

Thereupon those who had brought about this agitation accused the generals of spoiling their undertaking; and the Arcadians and Achaeans proceeded to band themselves together, under the leadership particularly of Callimachus the Parrhasian and Lycon the Achaean. Their words were to this

ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη ἄρχειν Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον[1] μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχομένους[2] εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιούς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι (καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος
11 Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοί)· εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν, αὐτοὶ συστάντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἑλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο καὶ πειρῷντο
12 ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνειν. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον εἴ τινες ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα συνέστησαν καὶ στρατηγοὺς αἱροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ὅ τι δοκοίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφῳ ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτῃ ἢ ἑβδόμῃ ἀφ' ἧς ᾑρέθη.

13 Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτοῦ[3] τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' αὑτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ

[1] καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον Mar., following Madvig: καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων MSS., which Gem. brackets, inserting καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον after στρατιάν, with Matthias.
[2] παρεχομένους Hug: παρεχόμενον MSS., Mar., Gem.

effect, that it was shameful that Peloponnesians should be under the command of an Athenian and a Lacedaemonian who contributed no troops to the army, and that the hardships should fall to themselves and the gains to others, all despite the fact that the preservation of the army was their achievement; for it was, they said, the Arcadians and Achaeans who had achieved this result, and the rest of the army amounted to nothing (in truth more than half the army did consist of Arcadians and Achaeans); if they were wise, therefore, they would band together by themselves, choose generals from their own number, make the journey by themselves, and try to get a little good out of it. This course was resolved upon, and whatever Arcadians or Achaeans there were with Cheirisophus and Xenophon left these commanders and joined forces, and they chose ten generals from their own number, decreeing that these ten were to do whatever might be decided upon by vote of the majority. So it was that the supreme command of Cheirisophus came to an end then and there, on the sixth or seventh day from the day of his election.

Xenophon, however, was desirous of making the journey in company with Cheirisophus, believing that this was a safer plan than for each of them to proceed independently; but Neon[1] urged him to go by himself, for he had heard from Cheirisophus that Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor at Byzantium,

[1] Cheirisophus' lieutenant (*cp.* v. vi. 36).

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[3] μετ' αὐτοῦ Krüger: μετὰ τῶν μεινάντων Gem., following Hug: μετ' αὐτῶν MSS., which Mar. prints, but regards as corrupt.

ἁρμοστὴς φαίη τριήρεις ἔχων ἥξειν εἰς Κάλπης
14 λιμένα· ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ
καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν
τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. καὶ Χειρί-
σοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα
δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ
15 ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπε-
χείρησεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι·
θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινου-
μένῳ, πότερα λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεύεσθαι
ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς
16 συστρατεύεσθαι. οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στράτευμα
τρίχα, Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τετρα-
κισχίλιοι, ὁπλῖται πάντες, Χειρισόφῳ δ᾽ ὁπλῖται
μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ
εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θρᾷκες, Ξενοφῶντι
δὲ ὁπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἱππικὸν δὲ μόνος
οὗτος εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἱππέας.
17 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι πλοῖα
παρὰ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πρῶτοι πλέουσιν, ὅπως
ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς λάβοιεν ὅτι
πλεῖστα· καὶ ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα
18 κατὰ μέσον πως τῆς Θρᾴκης.[1] Χειρίσοφος δ᾽
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀρξά-
μενος πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς

[1] κατὰ . . . Θρᾴκης MSS., Mar.: Gem. brackets, following Krüger.

had said he was coming to Calpe Harbour with triremes; it was Neon's purpose, then, that no one else should get a share in this opportunity, but that he himself and Cheirisophus and their soldiers should sail away upon the triremes, and this was the reason for his advice to Xenophon. As for Cheirisophus, he was so despondent over what had happened and, besides, felt such hatred toward the army for its action, that he allowed Neon to do whatever he chose. For a time, indeed, Xenophon did try to get clear of the army and sail away home; but when he sacrificed to Heracles the Leader, consulting him as to whether it was better and more proper for him to continue the journey with such of the soldiers as had remained with him, or to be rid of them, the god indicated to him by the sacrifices that he should stay with them. Thus the army was split into three parts: first, the Arcadians and Achaeans, more than four thousand in number, all hoplites; secondly, Cheirisophus' troops, to the number of fourteen hundred hoplites and seven hundred peltasts, the latter being Clearchus' Thracians; and thirdly, Xenophon's force, numbering seventeen hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts; Xenophon alone, however, had horsemen, to the number of about forty.

The Arcadians, managing to obtain ships from the Heracleots, set sail first, with the intention of making an unexpected descent upon the Bithynians and thus securing the greatest possible amount of booty; and they disembarked at Calpe Harbour, about midway of the Thracian coast. But Cheirisophus went by land from the very beginning of his journey from the city of the Heracleots, travelling across country;

τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ᾔει·
19 καὶ γὰρ ᾐσθένει. Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα λαβὼν ἀπο-
βαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεώ-
τιδος καὶ διὰ μεσογείας ἐπορεύετο.
2 III. Ἔπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε. οἱ μὲν
Ἀρκάδες ὡς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα,
πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ
θαλάττης ὡς τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο,
ἦγεν ἕκαστος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸν αὑτοῦ λόχον ἐπὶ
κώμην· ὁποία δὲ μείζων ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο
3 λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. συνεβάλλοντο δὲ
καὶ λόφον εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἁλίζεσθαι· καὶ ἅτε
ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλα-
4 βον καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ περιεβάλλοντο. οἱ δὲ
Θρᾷκες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφεύγοντες· πολλοὶ δὲ
διέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὄντες ὁπλίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
χειρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ
Σμίκρητος λόχῳ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν
ἀπιόντι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ πολλὰ χρή-
5 ματα ἄγοντι ἐπιτίθενται. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐμάχοντο
ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει
χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ αὐτόν τε τὸν
Σμίκρητα ἀποκτιννύασι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας·
ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν τοῦ Ἡγησάν-
δρου ὀκτὼ μόνους ἔλιπον· καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡγήσανδρος
ἐσώθη.
6 Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ λόχοι συνῆλθον οἱ μὲν σὺν

when, however, he had entered Thrace, he proceeded along the coast, for the reason that he was ill. Xenophon, finally, took ships, disembarked at the boundaries separating Thrace and the territory of Heracleia, and pursued his way through the back country.

III. The fortunes of the several divisions were as follows. The Arcadians after disembarking by night at Calpe Harbour proceeded to the first villages, about thirty stadia from the sea. When daylight came, each general led his own company against a village, except that where a village seemed unusually large, the generals combined two companies for the attack upon it. They also fixed upon a hill as the place where all the troops were afterwards to gather; and since their onset was unexpected, they took many captives and were in a fair way to secure a large number of sheep. The Thracians who escaped them, however, began to gather—and many had escaped, inasmuch as they were light troops as against hoplites, from the very hands of the Arcadians. When they had come together in a body, they first attacked the company under Smicres, one of the Arcadian generals, as it was already withdrawing to the appointed place with a great quantity of booty. For a while the Greeks fought as they marched, but at the crossing of a gorge the Thracians put them to rout, and they killed not only Smicres himself, but the rest of the company to a man; in another of the companies belonging to the ten generals, the one commanded by Hegesander, they left only eight men alive, Hegesander himself being one of them.

The other companies succeeded in getting together, some of them with difficulty, others without

πράγμασιν οἱ δὲ ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐρρωμένως τῆς νυκτός. καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ ἀεὶ πλέ-
7 ονες συνέρρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον οὔτε ἀκοντιστὴν οὔτε ἱππέα· οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον·
8 ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν, ῥᾳδίως ἀπέφευγον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδείς· ὥστε κινηθῆναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ
9 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾷκες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία πολλὴ ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Θρᾷκες αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.

10 Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα.

Ξενοφῶντι δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείας πορευομένῳ οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες[1] ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤχθησαν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτοὺς εἴ που ᾔσθηνται
11 ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. οἱ δὲ

[1] προκαταθέοντες the inferior MSS., Gem.: καταθέοντες the better MSS., Mar.

any difficulty; but the Thracians, having gained this success, kept shouting to one another and collecting their forces energetically during the night. At daybreak they proceeded to form their lines all round the hill where the Greeks were encamping, their troops consisting of horsemen in large numbers and peltasts, while still more were continually streaming together; and they made attacks upon the hoplites without danger to themselves, inasmuch as the Greeks had neither bowman nor javelin-thrower nor horseman; so they would come running or riding up and throw their javelins, and when the Greeks charged upon them, they would easily get away; and different parties kept attacking at different points. Hence on the one side many were being wounded, on the other side not a man; the result was, that the Greeks were not able to stir from the spot, and at last the Thracians were even cutting them off from their water supply. When their embarrassment became serious, they opened negotiations for a truce; and on every other point an agreement had been reached, but the Thracians refused to give the hostages which the Greeks demanded, and in this particular there was a hitch. Such, then, was the situation of the Arcadians.

As to Cheirisophus, he pursued his march in safety along the coast and arrived at Calpe Harbour.

Xenophon, lastly, was proceeding through the back country when his horsemen, riding on in advance, chanced upon some old men who were journeying somewhere or other. When they were brought to Xenophon, he asked them whether they had heard of another army anywhere, a Greek army. And they told him all that had happened, adding

ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορ-
κοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες πάντες περι-
κεκυκλωμένοι εἶεν αὐτούς. ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν
ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως
ἡγεμόνες εἶεν ὅποι δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας
12 συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες
στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. νομίζω
δ᾽ ἔγωγε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ᾽ ἡμῖν εἶναι
οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν
13 πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαρρηκότων. κράτιστον
οὖν ἡμῖν ὡς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅπως
εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα καὶ μὴ
16 μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν.[1] ἡμεῖς
(14) γὰρ ἀποδραίημεν ἂν οὐδαμοῖ ἐνθένδε· πολλὴ μὲν
γάρ, ἔφη, εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλὴ
δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πλη-
σίον· εἰς Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφον
εἰκάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. ἀλλὰ
δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖά ἐστιν οἷς ἀποπλευσούμεθα,
μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔστι τὰ ἐπι-
17 τήδεια. τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων σὺν
(15) τοῖς Χειρισόφου μόνοις κάκιόν ἐστι διακινδυνεύειν
ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων πάντας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθόντας κοι-
νῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ χρὴ παρασκευα-
σαμένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι ὡς νῦν ἢ εὐκλεῶς
τελευτῆσαι ἔστιν ἢ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι
18 Ἕλληνας τοσούτους σώσαντας. καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως
(16)

[1] In the transposition indicated by the following section numbers Gem. and Mar. follow Rehdantz.

that at present the Greeks were being besieged upon a hill, with the Thracians in full force completely surrounding them. Then Xenophon kept these men under strict guard, in order that they might serve as guides wherever he might need to go; and after stationing watchers he called the troops together and spoke as follows: "Fellow soldiers, some of the Arcadians have been killed and the remainder of them are being besieged upon a certain hill. Now it is my own belief that if they are to perish, there is no salvation for us either, the enemy being so numerous and made so confident by their success. Therefore it is best for us to go to the rescue of these men with all speed, so that if they are still alive, we may have their aid in the fighting, instead of being left alone and alone facing the danger. For there is no place to which we can ourselves steal away from here; for to go back to Heracleia," he said, "is a long journey, and it is a long journey through to Chrysopolis, and meanwhile the enemy are close at hand; to Calpe Harbour, where we presume Cheirisophus is, in case he has come through safely, is the shortest distance. But firstly, mark you, having arrived there we have neither ships wherein to sail away nor provisions for so much as a single day if we remain in the place; and secondly, it is worse to have the blockaded force destroyed and take our chances in company with Cheirisophus' troops only, than to have these men saved and then unite all our forces and together strive for deliverance. We must set forth, then, prepared in our minds for either meeting to-day a glorious death or accomplishing a most noble deed in saving so many Greeks. And it may be that the

ἄγει οὕτως, ὃς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας ὡς πλέον
φρονοῦντας ταπεινῶσαι βούλεται, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομένους ἐντιμοτέρους ἐκείνων
καταστῆσαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἕπεσθαι χρὴ καὶ προσέχειν
τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνησθε
14 ποιεῖν. νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευσώμεθα προ-
(17) ελθόντες ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνο-
ποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ᾽ ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίων ἔχων
τοὺς ἱππέας προελαυνέτω ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ σκο-
πείτω τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.
15 Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἡγεῖτο. παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν
(18) γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ
εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως εἴ πού τί ποθεν καθορῷεν,
σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα ὅτῳ ἐντυγ-
19 χάνοιεν καυσίμῳ. οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς σπειρόμενοι ἐφ᾽
ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν ἔκαιον, καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ
ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἔκαιον πάντα ὅσα
καύσιμα ἑώρων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τινι παρα-
λειπομένῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἴθε-
20 σθαι ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ὥρα ἦν, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ λόφον
ἐκβάντες, καὶ τά τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἑώρων,
ἀπεῖχον δὲ ὡς τετταράκοντα σταδίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ
21 ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-
πνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγγέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κατα-

[1] *i. e.* consult the gods before undertaking any enterprise. The expression was proverbial.

god is guiding events in this way, he who wills that those who talked boastfully, as though possessed of superior wisdom, should be brought low, and that we, who always begin with the gods,[1] should be set in a place of higher honour than those boasters. And now you must keep in line and on the alert, so that you can carry out the orders that are given. For the present, then, let us go forward as far as may seem consistent with our time for dining, and then encamp; and so long as we are on the march, let Timasion with the cavalry ride on in advance, keeping us in sight, and spy out what is ahead, in order that nothing may escape our attention."

With these words he proceeded to lead the way. Furthermore, he sent out on the flanks and to the neighbouring heights some of the more active of the light-armed troops in order that they might signal to the army in case they should sight anything anywhere from any point of observation; and he directed them to burn everything they found that could be burned. So the horsemen, scattering as widely as was proper, went to burning, the peltasts, making their way along the heights abreast of the main army, burned all they saw which was combustible, and the main army likewise burned anything they found that had been passed over; the result was, that the whole country seemed to be ablaze and the army seemed to be a large one. When the time had come, they ascended a hill and encamped; from there they could see the camp-fires of the enemy, distant about forty stadia, and they kindled as many fires themselves as they could. Immediately after they had dined, however, the order was given to extinguish every one of the

*σβεννύναι πάντα. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα φυλακὰς
ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσ-
ευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, συνταξάμενοι ὡς εἰς μάχην*
22 *ἐπορεύοντο ᾗ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Τιμασίων δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἔχοντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ προελαύ-
νοντες ἐλάνθανον αὑτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι
ἔνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν
οὔτε φίλιον στράτευμα οὔτε πολέμιον (καὶ ταῦτα
ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στρά-
τευμα*[1]*), γρᾴδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ πρόβατα*
23 *ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλελειμμένους. καὶ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον, ἔπειτα
δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι οἱ
μὲν Θρᾷκες ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρας ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες, καὶ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας δ᾽ ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅποι δέ, οὐκ
εἰδέναι.*

24 *Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ
ἠρίστησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλό-
μενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμεῖξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς
Κάλπης λιμένα. καὶ πορευόμενοι ἑώρων τὸν
στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ
Κάλπης ὁδόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό,
ἄσμενοί τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ὥσπερ*
25 *ἀδελφούς. καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν
περὶ Ξενοφῶντα τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς
μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ᾠόμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον,
ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐκέθ᾽ ἑωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἥξειν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὥς γ᾽
ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δείσαντες ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν*
26 *γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπῇσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ*

[1] *καὶ ταῦτα . . . στράτευμα* Gem. brackets, following Hug.

fires. Then, after stationing guards, they slept the night through; and at daybreak they offered prayer to the gods, formed their lines for battle, and set forth at the fastest possible pace. And Timasion and the horsemen, riding on ahead with the guides, found themselves without knowing it upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged. They could see no army, however, either friendly or hostile (and this fact they reported back to Xenophon and the main body), but only some wretched old men and women and a few sheep and cattle that had been left behind. At first they could only wonder what the thing was that had happened, but afterwards they managed to find out from the people who had been left behind that the Thracians had disappeared immediately after nightfall, and the Greeks also, they said, had gone; but whither, they did not know.

Upon hearing this report Xenophon and his men packed up, as soon as they had breakfasted, and set forth, wishing as speedily as possible to join their comrades at Calpe Harbour. As they proceeded, they could see the track of the Arcadians and Achaeans along the road leading towards Calpe. When the two detachments came together, the men were delighted to see one another, and greeted one another like brothers. And the Arcadians inquired of Xenophon's troops why they had put out their fires; "for we imagined at first," they said, "when we could no longer see your fires, that you meant to come against the enemy during the night; and the enemy likewise, so at least it seemed to us, feared this, and on that account departed; for it was at about that time that they went away. But when

οὐκ ἀφίκεσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ᾠόμεθα ὑμᾶς πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φοβηθέντας οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι ὑμῶν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.

IV. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἡ Θρᾴκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι. καὶ τριήρει μέν ἐστιν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας μακρᾶς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρᾷκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὓς ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως δεινὰ ὑβρί-
3 ζειν λέγονται.[1] ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἑκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθῆκον αὐτοῦ πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος ὅπῃ ἐλάχιστον οὐ μεῖον εἴκοσιν ὀργυῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου μάλιστα τεττάρων πλέθρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχένος χωρίον ἱκανὸν μυρίοις
4 ἀνθρώποις οἰκῆσαι. λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἄφθονος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου. ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ναυπη-
5 γήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. τὸ δὲ ὄρος εἰς

[1] After λέγονται the MSS. have τοὺς Ἕλληνας: Gem. brackets, following Muretus.

you failed to arrive, although the requisite time had passed, we supposed that you had learned of our situation and, seized with fear, had stealthily made off toward the sea; and we thought it best not to be left behind. That was the reason, then, why we also proceeded hither."

IV. During that day they bivouacked where they were, upon the beach by the harbour. Now this place which is called Calpe Harbour is situated in Thrace-in-Asia; and this portion of Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine and extends as far as Heracleia, being on the right as one sails into the Euxine. It is a long day's journey for a trireme to row from Byzantium to Heracleia, and between the two places there is no other city, either friendly or Greek, only Bithynian Thracians; and they are said to abuse outrageously any Greeks they may find shipwrecked or may capture in any other way. As for Calpe Harbour, it lies midway of the voyage between Heracleia and Byzantium and is a bit of land jutting out into the sea, the part of it which extends seaward being a precipitous mass of rock, not less than twenty fathoms high at its lowest point, and the isthmus which connects this head with the mainland being about four plethra in width; and the space to the seaward of the isthmus is large enough for ten thousand people to dwell in. At the very foot of the rock there is a harbour whose beach faces toward the west, and an abundantly flowing spring of fresh water close to the shore of the sea and commanded by the headland. There is also a great deal of timber of various sorts, but an especially large amount of fine ship-timber, on the very shore of the sea. The ridge extends back into the interior

μεσόγειαν μὲν ἀνήκει ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους δασὺ πολλοῖς
6 καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα καὶ μελίνας καὶ σήσαμα καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς καὶ ἡδυοίνους καὶ τἆλλα πάντα πλὴν ἐλαῶν.

7 Ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοιαύτη. ἐσκήνουν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα[1] ἂν γενόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
8 εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσανηλωκότες χρήματα, καὶ τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες ὡς χρήματ᾽ αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι ἥξοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῴζεσθαι.

9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸν συνόδου, ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐγένετο,

[1] τὸ πόλισμα MSS., Mar.: τόπον πόλισμα Gem., following Jacobs.

for about twenty stadia, and this stretch is deep-soiled and free from stones, while the land bordering the coast is thickly covered for a distance of more than twenty stadia with an abundance of heavy timber of all sorts. The rest of the region is fair and extensive, and contains many inhabited villages; for the land produces barley, wheat, beans of all kinds, millet and sesame, a sufficient quantity of figs, an abundance of grapes which yield a good sweet wine, and in fact everything except olives.

Such was the country thereabouts. The men took up quarters on the beach by the sea, refusing to encamp on the spot which might become a city; indeed, the fact of their coming to this place at all seemed to them the result of scheming on the part of some people who wished to found a city. For most of the soldiers had sailed away from Greece to undertake this service for pay, not because their means were scanty, but because they knew by report of the noble character of Cyrus; some brought other men with them, some had even spent money of their own on the enterprise, while still another class had abandoned fathers and mothers, or had left children behind with the idea of getting money to bring back to them, all because they heard that the other people who served with Cyrus enjoyed abundant good fortune. Being men of this sort, therefore, they longed to return in safety to Greece.

On the day after the reunion of the three divisions Xenophon offered sacrifice with a view to an expedition; for it was necessary to go out after provisions and, besides, he intended to bury the Arcadian dead. When the sacrifices proved favour-

εἵποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς
τοὺς πλείστους ἔνθαπερ ἔπεσον ἑκάστους ἔθαψαν·
ἤδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν
ἔτι ἦν· ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες
ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλ-
λιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ ηὕρισκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς
10 ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν. ταῦτα
δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ
ὑστεραίᾳ συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες· συνῆγε
δὲ μάλιστα Ἀγασίας τε ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς
καὶ Ἱερώνυμος Ἠλεῖος λοχαγὸς καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ
11 πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων. καὶ δόγμα ἐποιή-
σαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ
στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι,
καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι ᾗπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ
στράτευμα καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς.
καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει φάρμακον
πιὼν πυρέττων· τὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνου Νέων Ἀσιναῖος
παρέλαβε.
12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ὦ
ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὡς ἔοικε,[1]
πεζῇ ποιητέον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ
πορεύεσθαι ἤδη· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια. ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἔφη, θυσόμεθα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ
παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους εἴ ποτε καὶ
13 ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀνατεθαρρήκασιν. ἐκ
τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν

[1] After ὡς ἔοικε the MSS. have δῆλον ὅτι, which Mar. brackets, following Krüger: Gem. brackets ὡς ἔοικε, retaining δῆλον ὅτι.

able, the Arcadians also followed with the rest,[1] and they buried the greater part of the dead just where they each had fallen; for they had already lain unburied five days, and it was not now possible to carry away the bodies; some that lay upon the roads, however, they did gather together and honour with as fine a burial as their means allowed, while for those they could not find, they erected a great cenotaph, and placed wreaths upon it. After doing all this they returned to their camp, and then took dinner and went to bed. On the following day all the soldiers held a meeting, the chief movers in the matter being Agasias the Stymphalian, a captain, Hieronymus the Elean, also a captain, and some others from among the eldest of the Arcadians. They passed a resolution that if any man from this time forth should suggest dividing the army, he should be punished with death, and further, that the army should return to the same organization which formerly obtained, and that the former generals should resume command. Now by this time Cheirisophus had died, from the effects of a medicine which he took for a fever;[2] and his command passed to Neon the Asinaean.

After this Xenophon rose and said: "Fellow soldiers, our journey, it seems, must be made by land, for we have no ships; and we must set out at once, for we have no provisions if we remain here. We, then," he continued, "will sacrifice, and you must prepare yourselves to fight if ever you did; for the enemy have renewed their courage." Thereupon the generals proceeded to sacrifice, the sooth-

[1] *i. e.* no longer insisting upon their independent organization. [2] *cp.* ii. 18.

Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἀμπρακιώτης
ἤδη ἀπεδεδράκει πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος ἐξ Ἡρα-
κλείας. θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο
14 τὰ ἱερά. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο.
καί τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν βουλόμε-
νος τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν
15 ὡς τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. ἐντεῦθεν
κηρύξας τῇ αὔριον παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν
βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας
παρεῖναι ὡς συνθεασόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυε· καὶ
16 ἐνταῦθα παρῆσαν πολλοί. θυομένῳ δὲ πάλιν
εἰς τρὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. ἐκ
τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν ἃ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ
οὐδεμία πω παρῆν.
17 Ἐκ τούτου ξυνελθόντων εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν·
Ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερὰ
οὔπω γίγνεται· τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομέ-
νους· ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θύεσθαι περὶ
18 αὐτοῦ τούτου. ἀναστάς τις εἶπεν· Καὶ εἰκότως
ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ
τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἥκοντος πλοίῳ[1] ἤκουσά
τινος, Κλέανδρος[2] ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστὴς
19 μέλλει ἥξειν πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων. ἐκ τούτου
δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτή-

[1] πλοίῳ Gem., following Hartman: πλοίου MSS., Mar.
[2] Before Κλέανδρος the MSS. have ὅτι, which Mar. brackets, following Stephanus: Gem. emends to ὅ γε.

[1] *cp.* v, vi, 18, 34.

sayer who was present being Arexion the Arcadian; for Silanus the Ambraciot had by this time stolen away,[1] on a vessel which he hired at Heracleia. When they sacrificed, however, with a view to their departure, the victims would not prove favourable, and they accordingly ceased their offerings for that day. Now some people had the effrontery to say that Xenophon, in his desire to found a city at this spot, had induced the soothsayer to declare that the sacrifices were not favourable for departure. Consequently he made public proclamation that on the morrow any one who so chose might be present at the sacrifice, and if a man were a soothsayer, he sent him word to be at hand to participate in the inspection of the victims; so he made the offering in the immediate presence of many witnesses. But though he sacrificed a second and a third time with a view to departure, the victims would not prove favourable. At that the soldiers were angry, for the provisions they brought with them had given out and there was not yet any market at hand.

Therefore they held a meeting and Xenophon addressed them again. "Soldiers," he said, "as for setting out upon our journey, the sacrifices, as you see, do not yet prove favourable for that; but I am aware that you are in need of provisions; hence it seems to me that we must sacrifice in regard to this latter point alone." Then some one rose and said: "There appears to be good reason why our sacrifices are not favourable; for as I heard from a man who chanced to arrive here yesterday on a ship, Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor at Byzantium, is to come here with merchant vessels and men-of-war." At that news all deemed it best to stay, but it was

δεια ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐξιέναι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

20 Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ διὰ τὸ μέλειν ἅπασιν ἐκυκλοῦντο περὶ τὰ ἱερά· τὰ δὲ θύματα ἐπελελοίπει. οἱ δὲ
21 στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὔ, συνεκάλεσαν δέ. εἶπεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν· Ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένοι ἴοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ προχω-
22 ροίη ἡμῖν. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα. καὶ πρόβατα μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦν[1] δὲ ὑπὸ ἁμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμεῖσθαι, εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἐγένοντο.

23 Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδείᾳ, βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, εὑρών τινα ἄνθρωπον Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἰδέναι ὅθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,

[1] βοῦν Gem., following Schneider: βοῦς MSS., Mar.

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[1] *i.e.* the headland described in §§ 3 ff. above.
[2] One of the generals.

still necessary to go out after provisions. With this object in view Xenophon again sacrificed, going as far as three offerings, and the victims continued unfavourable. By this time people were even coming to Xenophon's tent and declaring that they had no provisions, but he said that he would not lead forth unless the sacrifices turned out favourable.

On the next day he undertook to sacrifice again, and pretty nearly the entire army—for it was a matter of concern to every man—gathered about the place of sacrifice; but the victims had given out. Then the generals, while refusing to lead the men forth, called them together in assembly; and Xenophon said: "It may be that the enemy are gathered together and that we must fight; if, then, we should leave our baggage in the strong place [1] and set out prepared for battle, perhaps our sacrifices would be successful." Upon hearing this, however, the soldiers cried out that it was not at all necessary to enter the place, but, rather, to offer sacrifice with all speed. Now they no longer had any sheep, but they bought a bullock that was yoked to a wagon and proceeded to sacrifice; and Xenophon requested Cleanor [2] the Arcadian to give special attention to see if there was anything auspicious in this offering. But not even so did the omens prove favourable.

Now Neon was general in place of Cheirisophus, and when he saw in what a terrible condition the soldiers were from want, he was desirous of doing them a kindness; so having found a certain Heracleot who claimed to know of villages near at hand from which it was possible to get provisions, he made proclamation that all who so wished were to

ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου. ἐξέρχονται δὴ σὺν δορα-
τίοις καὶ ἀσκοῖς καὶ θυλάκοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις
24 εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν
ταῖς κώμαις καὶ διεσπείροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβά-
νειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς
πρῶτοι· βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς,
βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιντο, ἀποκω-
λῦσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν·
οὗτοι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ
μεῖον πεντακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος
25 ἀνέφυγον. ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν
ἀποφευγόντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Ξενο-
φῶν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγεγένητο τὰ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἁμάξης, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα,
σφαγιασάμενος ἐβοήθει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι
26 τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἅπαντες. καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται.
καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες
μάλ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐξαπί-
νης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες ἐπιγενό-
μενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκαινον τοὺς δὲ
27 ἐδίωξαν μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κραυγῆς
γενομένης εἰς τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἔδραμον οἱ Ἕλλη-
νες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον
νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν
τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνυκτέρευον φυλατ-
τόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξι.

V. Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἡγοῦν-

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[1] *i. e.* for carrying the booty.
[2] See note on v. vi. 24.

go after provisions and that he would be their leader. There set out accordingly, with poles,[1] wine-skins, bags, and other vessels, about two thousand men. But when they had reached the villages and were scattering here and there for the purpose of securing plunder, they were attacked first of all by the horsemen of Pharnabazus;[2] for they had come to the aid of the Bithynians, desiring in company with the Bithynians to prevent the Greeks, if they could, from entering Phrygia; these horsemen killed no fewer than five hundred of the soldiers, the rest fleeing for refuge to the heights. After this one of the men who escaped brought back word to the camp of what had happened. And Xenophon, inasmuch as the sacrifices had not proved favourable on that day, took a bullock that was yoked to a wagon,—for there were no other sacrificial animals,—offered it up, and set out to the rescue, as did all the rest who were under thirty years of age, to the last man. And they picked up the survivors and returned to the camp. By this time it was about sunset, and the Greeks were making preparations for dinner in a state of great despondency when suddenly through the thickets some of the Bithynians burst upon the outposts, killing some of them and pursuing the rest up to the camp. An outcry was raised, and all the Greeks ran to their arms; still, it did not seem safe to undertake a pursuit or to move the camp during the night, seeing that the region was thickly overgrown; so they spent the night under arms, keeping plenty of sentinels on watch.

V. In this way they got through the night, but at daybreak the generals led the way to the strong

*το· οἱ δὲ εἵποντο ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ
σκεύη. πρὶν δὲ ἀρίστου ὥραν εἶναι ἀπετάφρευον
ᾗ ἡ εἴσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν
ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. καὶ πλοῖον
ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἧκεν ἄλφιτα ἄγον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ
οἶνον.*

2 *Πρῲ δ' ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ,
καὶ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου.
καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν ὁρᾷ αἰετὸν
αἴσιον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων Παρράσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖ-
3 σθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. καὶ διαβάντες τὴν
τάφρον τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστή-
σαντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις,
τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλι-
4 πεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξῇσαν, Νέων δὲ
οὔ· ἐδόκει γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι τοῦτον φύλακα
καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ
λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλειπον αὐτόν,
αἰσχυνόμενοι μὴ ἐφέπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων,
κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταρά-
κοντα ἔτη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
5 ἐπορεύοντο. πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι
ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ
κέρατος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας
νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον πάντας ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ
6 κέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγα-*

[1] *i. e.* the isthmus mentioned in iv. 3.

[2] The original plan was to leave Neon and his division to guard the camp. But since Neon's men insisted upon going

place and the men followed, taking up their arms and baggage. Before breakfast time came, they proceeded to dig a trench across the way of approach[1] to the place, and they backed it along its entire length with a palisade, leaving three gates. And now a vessel arrived from Heracleia, bringing barley meal, sacrificial victims, and wine.

Xenophon arose early and sacrificed with a view to an expedition, and with the first offering the omens turned out favourable. Furthermore, just as the rites were nearing the end, the soothsayer, Arexion the Parrhasian, caught sight of an eagle in an auspicious quarter, and bade Xenophon lead on. So they crossed the trench and grounded arms; then they made proclamation that after taking breakfast the troops were to march out under arms, while the camp-followers and captives were to be left behind where they were. All the rest, then, proceeded to set forth, save only Neon; for it seemed best to leave him behind to keep guard over what was in the camp. But when his captains and soldiers began to abandon him, being ashamed not to follow along when the others were setting out, the generals left behind at the camp everybody who was over forty-five years of age.[2] So these remained and the rest took up the march. Before they had gone fifteen stadia they began to meet with dead bodies; and marching on until they had brought the rear of their column to a point opposite the first bodies which appeared, they proceeded to bury all that the column covered. As soon as they had

with the rest, the generals decided to leave, not one of the regular divisions of the army, but the older men from the entire army.

γόντες καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὖθις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν ἡ στρατιά. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἧκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἁθρόοι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.

7 Ἤδη δὲ πέρα μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας προάγοντες τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅ τι τις ὁρῴη ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεζούς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαθίνης ἧκον παρὰ
8 Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους. ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀρηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ
9 σφάγια. ἔνθα δὴ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας ἵν᾽ ἄν που δέῃ ὦσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους.
10 συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, προηγεῖσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὡς μὴ ἑστήκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὤφθημεν καὶ εἴδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους·

buried this first group, they marched forward and again brought the rear of the column into line with the first of the bodies which lay farther on, and then in the same way they buried all that the army covered. When, however, they had reached the road leading out of the villages, where the dead lay thick, they gathered them all together for burial.

It was now past midday, and, still leading the army forward, they were engaged in getting provisions outside the villages—anything there was to be seen within the limits of their line—when suddenly they caught sight of the enemy passing over some hills which lay opposite them, his force consisting of horsemen in large numbers and foot soldiers, all in battle formation; in fact, it was Spithridates and Rhathines, who had been sent out with their army by Pharnabazus. As soon as the enemy sighted the Greeks, they came to a halt, at a distance from the Greeks of about fifteen stadia. Hereupon Arexion, the soothsayer of the Greeks, immediately offered sacrifice, and at the first victim the omens proved favourable. Then Xenophon said: "It seems to me, fellow generals, that we should station reserve companies behind our phalanx, so that we may have men to come to the aid of the phalanx if aid is needed at any point, and that the enemy, after they have fallen into disorder, may come upon troops that are in good order and fresh." All shared this opinion. "Well, then," said Xenophon, "do you lead on toward our adversaries, in order that we may not be standing still now that we have been seen by the enemy and have seen them; and I will come along after arranging

ἐγὼ δὲ ἥξω τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας
11 ᾗπερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ. ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἥσυχοι προῆ-
γον, ὁ δὲ τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις
ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν
ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι ἀπολιπόντας ὡς πλέθρον·
Σαμόλας Ἀχαιὸς ταύτης ἦρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ'
ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν ἕπεσθαι· Πυρρίας Ἀρκὰς
ταύτης ἦρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ
εὐωνύμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτῃ ἐφειστήκει.
12 Προϊόντες δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ
νάπει μεγάλῳ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν ἀγνοοῦντες
εἰ διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος. καὶ παρεγγυῶσι
στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγού-
13 μενον. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν θαυμάσας ὅ τι τὸ ἴσχον
εἴη τὴν πορείαν καὶ ταχὺ ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγύην,
ἐλαύνει ᾗ τάχιστα. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει
Σοφαίνετος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι
βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον
νάπος.
14 Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν·
Ἀλλ' ἴστε μέν με, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον
προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐθελούσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὁρῶ
δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρειότητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας.
15 νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεὶ μὲν ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔστιν
ἀπελθεῖν· ἢν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν ὁπόταν ἀπίωμεν ἕψονται καὶ
16 ἐπιπεσοῦνται. ὁρᾶτε δὴ πότερον κρεῖττον ἰέναι

the hindmost companies in the way you have decided upon." So while the others led on quietly, he detached the three hindmost battalions, consisting of two hundred men each, and turned the first one to the right with orders to follow after the phalanx at a distance of about a plethrum; this battalion was commanded by Samolas the Achaean; the second battalion he posted at the centre, to follow on in the same way; this one was under the command of Pyrrhias the Arcadian; and the last one he stationed upon the left, Phrasias the Athenian being in command of it.

Now when, as they advanced, the men who were in the lead reached a large ravine, difficult to pass, they halted, in doubt as to whether they ought to cross the ravine; and they passed along word for generals and captains to come up to the front. Then Xenophon, wondering what it was that was holding up the march and speedily hearing the summons, rode forward in all haste. As soon as the officers had come together, Sophaenetus, who was the eldest of the generals, said that it was not a question worth considering whether they ought to cross such a ravine as that.

Xenophon rejoined, with much earnestness: "Well, gentlemen, you know that I have never yet introduced you to any danger that was a matter of choice; for as I see the situation, you do not stand in need of reputation for bravery, but of a safe return. But the conditions at this moment are these: there is no possibility of our getting away from here without a battle; for if we do not advance upon the enemy ourselves, they will follow us when we undertake to retire and fall upon us. Consider,

ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα ἢ μεταβαλλομένους ὄπισθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς
17 πολεμίους θεᾶσθαι. ἴστε μέντοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῷ ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίοσι θάρρος ἐμποιεῖ. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐπιοίην ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀποχωροίην. καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπίζετε δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀπιόντων δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι τολμήσου-
18 σιν ἐφέπεσθαι. τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὄπισθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἁρπάσαι ἄξιον; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν εὔπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία.
19 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἴ τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διαπεπορεύμεθα χωρίων. πῶς γὰρ δὴ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ νικήσομεν τοὺς ἱππέας; πῶς δὲ ἃ διεληλύθαμεν ὄρη, ἢν πελτασταὶ τοσοίδε ἐφέ-
20 πωνται;[1] ἢν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι τὰ ἀπάξοντα οὔτε σῖτος ᾧ θρεψόμεθα μένοντες, δεήσει δέ, ἢν θᾶττον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, θᾶττον
21 πάλιν ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἠριστηκότας μάχεσθαι ἢ αὔριον ἀναρίστους.

[1] § 19 as in the MSS., which Mar. follows: Gem., following Hartman, puts the sentence θαυμάζω—χωρίων at the end of the §.

then, whether it is better to go forward against these men with arms advanced, or with arms reversed to behold the enemy coming upon us from behind. Yet you know that to retire before an enemy does not beseem any man of honour, while to be in pursuit creates courage even in cowards. For my part, at any rate, I should rather advance to the attack with half as many men than to retreat with twice as many. And as to those troops yonder, I know that if we advance upon them, you do not yourselves expect them to await our attack, while if we retire, we all know that they will have the courage to pursue us. Again, to cross a difficult ravine and get it in your rear when you are about to fight, is not that an opportunity really worth seizing? For it is to the enemy that I should myself wish to have all roads seem easy—for their retreat; as for ourselves, we ought to learn from the very ground before us that there is no safety for us except in victory. I do wonder, however, that any one regards this particular ravine as more dreadful than the rest of the country we have just marched through. For how is that plain to be recrossed unless we are victorious over the enemy's horsemen? how the mountains which we have passed through, if such a throng of peltasts are to be following at our heels? Again, if we do reach the sea in safety, what a great ravine, one may say, is the Euxine! where we have neither ships to take us away nor food to subsist upon if we remain, while the sooner we reach there, the sooner we shall have to be off again in quest of provisions. Well, then, it is better to fight to-day, with our breakfast already eaten, than to-morrow breakfastless. Gentle-

ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ οἵ τε οἰωνοὶ αἴσιοι τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα· ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον, ἡδέως δειπνῆσαι οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν θέλωσι σκηνῆσαι.

22 Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγε. καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγείλας διαβαίνειν ᾗ ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπους ὤν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἁθρόον ἐδόκει ἂν οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν ἣ ἐπὶ τῷ
23 νάπει ἦν ἐξεμηρύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριὼν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔλεγεν· Ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσατε ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς
24 θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. ἀλλ' ἕπεσθε ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομαστί. ἡδύ τοι ἀνδρεῖόν τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα μνήμην ἐν οἷς[1] ἐθέλει παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ.

25 Ταῦτα παρελαύνων ἔλεγε καὶ ἅμα ὑφηγεῖτο ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. παρήγγελτο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαίνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς προσβολὴν καθέντας ἕπεσθαι βάδην καὶ μηδένα δρόμῳ διώκειν. ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρῄει Ζεὺς σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὑπέ-

[1] ἐν οἷς MSS., Mar.: οἷς τις Gem., following Cobet.

men, our sacrificial victims were favourable, the bird-omens auspicious, the omens of the sacrifice most favourable; let us advance upon the enemy. These fellows, now that they have seen us at all, must not again get a pleasant dinner or encamp wherever they please."

After that the captains bade him lead on, and no one spoke in opposition. So he led the way, after giving orders that every man should cross at whatever point along the ravine he chanced to be; for it seemed that in this way the army would get together on the further side more quickly than if they defiled along the bridge which was over the ravine. When they had crossed, he went along the lines and said: "Soldiers, remember how many battles you have won, with the help of the gods, by coming to close quarters, remember what a fate they suffer who flee from the enemy, and bethink you of this, that we are at the doors of Greece. Follow Heracles the Leader and summon one another on, calling each man by name. It will surely be sweet, through some manly and noble thing which one may say or do to-day, to keep himself in remembrance among those whom he wishes to remember him."

Thus he spoke as he rode along, while at the same time he began to lead the troops on slowly in line of battle; and after they had got the peltasts into position on either flank, they took up the march against the enemy. The orders had been to keep their spears on the right shoulder until a signal should be given with the trumpet; then, lowering them for the attack, to follow on slowly, nobody to break into a run. And now the watchword was passed along, "Zeus Saviour, Heracles Leader."

26 μενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπεὶ
δ' ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτα-
σταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρίν τινα κελεύειν·
οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἀντίοι ὥρμησαν, οἵ θ' ἱππεῖς καὶ
τὸ στῖφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς
27 πελταστάς. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν
ὁπλιτῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ
ἐφθέγξατο καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλά-
λαζον καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν, ἐνταῦθα
28 οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον. καὶ
Τιμασίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας ἐφείπετο, καὶ
ἀπεκτίννυσαν ὅσουσπερ ἐδύναντο ὡς ὀλίγοι ὄντες.
τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη,
καθ' ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ἅτε
29 οὐ σφόδρα διωκόμενον ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. ἐπεὶ
δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπομένοντας αὐτούς, ἐδόκει
ῥᾷστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἤδη ἐπ'
αὐτούς. παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ
δ' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ
ἐδίωκον μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δὲ
ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἱππικὸν φόβον παρεῖχε τὸ τῶν
30 πολεμίων πολὺ ὄν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τό
τε Φαρναβάζου ἱππικὸν ἔτι συνεστηκὸς καὶ τοὺς
Βιθυνοὺς ἱππέας πρὸς τοῦτο συναθροιζομένους
καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθεωμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα,
ἀπειρήκεσαν μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους

Meanwhile the enemy were standing their ground, thinking that the position they held was a good one. When the Greeks were drawing near, the peltasts raised the battle-cry and proceeded to charge upon the enemy without waiting for any order; and the enemy rushed forward to meet them, both the horsemen and the mass of the Bithynians, and they put the peltasts to rout. But when the phalanx of the hoplites kept moving on to meet them, marching rapidly, and at the same time the trumpet sounded, and they struck up the paean and after that raised the battle-cry, and at the same moment couched their spears, then the enemy no longer awaited the attack, but took to flight. Timasion and the cavalry pursued, and killed as many as they could, considering their own small numbers. Now the left wing of the enemy, opposite which the Greek cavalry were stationed, was dispersed at once, but the right, since it was not vigorously pursued, got together upon a hill. As soon as the Greeks saw that they were standing their ground there, they deemed it the easiest and safest course to charge upon them immediately. They accordingly struck up the paean and moved upon them at once; and they stood no longer. Thereupon the peltasts pursued until the right wing was dispersed; but few of the enemy, however, were killed, for his cavalry, numerous as they were, inspired fear. But when the Greeks saw the cavalry of Pharnabazus standing with ranks still unbroken, and the Bithynian horsemen gathering together to join this force and looking down from a hill at what was going on, although they were tired they nevertheless thought that they must make as stout an attack as they could upon

ἰτέον εἶναι οὕτως ὅπως δύναιντο, ὡς μὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἀναπαύσαιντο. συνταξάμενοι δὴ πορεύ-
31 ονται. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἱππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διωκόμενοι· νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώ-
32 κοντες· ὀψὲ γὰρ ἦν. ἐπανελθόντες δὲ ἔνθα ἡ πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, στησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἀπῆσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς· στάδιοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀπήγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποι ἐδύναντο προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὡς ἥξοντα, ἐξιόντες δ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐφέροντο ἀδεῶς πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα
2 πλὴν ἐλαίου. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένοι τὸ στράτευμα ἀναπαυόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἰέναι, καὶ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημό-
3 σιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἤδη δὲ ἦν πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνοῦντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατῆγον, ἀκούοντες ὡς οἰκίζοιτο πόλις καὶ λιμὴν
4 εἴη. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤδη οἳ πλησίον

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[1] A man pursued by horsemen takes to rough country, where horsemen are helpless. In the present case, therefore, the hostile horsemen did precisely the wrong thing, and would probably have suffered severe losses if the Greeks had continued their pursuit.

these troops also, so that they should not be able to regain courage and get rested. Accordingly, they formed their lines and set forth. Thereupon the enemy's horsemen fled down the slope just as if they were being pursued by horsemen;[1] for a ravine was waiting to receive them, although the Greeks were not aware of the fact and hence turned aside from their pursuit before reaching it; for it was now late in the day. So after returning to the spot where the first encounter took place and erecting a trophy, they set out on their way back to the sea at about sunset; and the distance to the camp was about sixty stadia.

VI. After this the enemy occupied themselves with their own concerns, especially removing their slaves and property to the remotest point they could; meanwhile the Greeks were waiting for Cleander and the triremes and ships which were, presumably, coming, but every day they set forth with their baggage animals and slaves and fearlessly carried off wheat and barley, wine, beans, millet, and figs; for the country had all manner of good things, except olive oil. Whenever the army remained in camp and rested, individuals were permitted to go out after plunder, and in that case kept what they got; but whenever the entire army set out, if an individual went off by himself and got anything, it was decreed to be public property. And by this time there was an abundance of everything, for market products came in from the Greek cities on all sides, and people coasting past were glad to put in, since they heard that a city was being founded and that there was a harbour. Even the hostile peoples who dwelt near by began now to

ᾤκουν πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες ὅτι οὗτος πολίζει τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες ὅ τι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι. ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις.

5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον δ᾽ οὐδέν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω ὂν ὅτε ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοσε[1] εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν πρόβατα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δὲ μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν τῷ Δεξίππῳ λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ
6 σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι. εὐθὺς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιεστῶτας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι δημόσια εἴη, καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ λέγει ἐλθὼν ὅτι ἁρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ κελεύει τὸν
7 ἁρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἦγέ τινα· περιτυχὼν δ᾽ Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δέξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην. ἔδεισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κλέανδρος δ᾽ ἔφευγε.
8 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυόν τε καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα αἴτιον εἴη τοῦ στρατεύματος

[1] ἄλλοσε Gem., following Bornemann: ἄλλοι MSS., Mar.

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[1] In accordance with the above-mentioned (§ 2) decree.

send envoys to Xenophon—for they heard that he was the man who was making a city of the place—to ask what they must do in order to be his friends; and Xenophon would always show these envoys to the soldiers.

Meanwhile Cleander arrived with two triremes, but not a single merchant ship. It so chanced that the army was out foraging when he arrived, while certain individuals had gone in quest of plunder to a different place in the mountains and had secured a large number of sheep; so fearing that they might be deprived of them,[1] they told their story to Dexippus, the man who slipped away from Trapezus with the fifty-oared warship,[2] and urged him to save their sheep for them, with the understanding that he was to get some of the sheep himself and give the rest back to them. So he immediately proceeded to drive away the soldiers who were standing about and declaring that the animals were public property, and then he went and told Cleander that they were attempting robbery. Cleander directed him to bring the robber before him. So he seized a man and tried to take him to Cleander, but Agasias, happening to meet them, rescued the man, for he was one of his company. Then the other soldiers who were at hand set to work to stone Dexippus, calling him "The traitor." And many of the sailors from the triremes got frightened and began to flee toward the sea, and Cleander also fled. Xenophon, however, and the other generals tried to hold them back, and told Cleander that nothing was the matter, but that the resolution of the army was the reason

[2] See v. i. 15, vi. i. 32. Dexippus had manifestly accompanied Cleander to Calpe Harbour.

9 ταῦτα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξίπ-
που τε ἀνερεθιζόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀχθεσθεὶς ὅτι
ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔφη καὶ κηρύξειν μηδε-
μίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς πολεμίους. ἦρχον
δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
10 ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ'
οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη γενέσθαι, εἰ μή τις ἐκδώσει
11 τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ τὸν ἀφελόμενον. ἦν
δὲ ὃν ἐξῄτει Ἀγασίας διὰ τέλους φίλος τῷ Ξενο-
φῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δέξιππος.
Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ
στράτευμα οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ'
ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Κλέανδρον, τῷ δὲ Ξενο-
φῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς
12 ἔλεξεν· Ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν
φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως
ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος ἄπεισιν ὥσπερ λέγει.
εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς
δὲ Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν· ἱκα-
νοὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς
13 πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι. εἰ οὖν
οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει,
ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁρμοσταῖς παραγγελεῖ εἰς
τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι ὡς ἀπιστοῦντας Λακε-
δαιμονίοις καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξί-
βιον τὸν ναύαρχον οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἥξει,
χαλεπὸν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ

[1] Cleander was Lacedaemonian harmost, or governor, of Byzantium (ii. 13).

[2] See v. i. 4 and note thereon.

for this incident taking place. But Cleander, goaded on by Dexippus and angered on his own account also because he had been frightened, declared that he would sail away and issue a proclamation forbidding any city to receive them, on the ground that they were enemies. And at this time the Lacedaemonians[1] held the hegemony over all the Greeks. Upon this the affair seemed to the Greeks a bad business, and they begged Cleander not to carry out his intention. He replied that no other course would be taken unless they should deliver up the man who began the stoning and the one who rescued Dexippus' prisoner. Now Agasias, whom he thus demanded, had been a friend of Xenophon's all through—which was the very reason why Dexippus was slandering him.

After that the commanders, perplexed as they were, called a meeting of the army; and while some of them made light of Cleander, Xenophon thought that it was no trifling matter, and he arose and said: "Fellow soldiers, it seems to me it is no trifling matter if Cleander is to go away with such an intention toward us as he has expressed. For the Greek cities are close by, the Lacedaemonians stand as the leaders of Greece, and they are able, nay, any single Lacedaemonian is able, to accomplish in the cities whatever he pleases. Hence if this man shall begin by shutting us out of Byzantium, and then shall send word to the other governors not to receive us into their cities, on the ground that we are disobedient to the Lacedaemonians and lawless, and if, further, this report about us shall reach Anaxibius,[2] the Lacedaemonian admiral, it will be difficult for us either to remain or to sail away; for

γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ
14 θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον. οὔκουν δεῖ οὔτε ἑνὸς
ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον ὅ τι ἂν
κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν ὅθεν ἐσμὲν
15 πείθονται αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω
Δέξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλέανδρον ὡς οὐκ ἂν
ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέ-
λευσα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας
καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ ἐμέ τι
τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἐμαυτοῦ, εἰ
ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω,
τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν
16 δίκην. φημὶ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, χρῆ-
ναι ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κρῖναι· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. ὡς
δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν εἰ οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων
οὐδ᾽ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ᾽ εἰρξόμεθα
ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.
17 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπεν Ἀγασίας· Ἐγώ,
ὦ ἄνδρες, ὄμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς ἦ μὴν μήτε με
Ξενοφῶντα κελεῦσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε
ἄλλον ὑμῶν μηδένα· ἰδόντι δέ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξίππου, ὃν
ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν
18 εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν
μὴ ἐκδῶτέ με· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν
λέγει, παρασχήσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ ὅ τι ἂν

at present the Lacedaemonians are supreme both on land and sea. Now the rest of us must not be kept away from Greece for the sake of one or two men, but we must obey whatever order the Lacedaemonians may give us; for the cities from which we come likewise obey them. For my own part, therefore,—for I hear that Dexippus is saying to Cleander that Agasias would not have done what he did if I had not given him the order,—for my own part, I say, I relieve both you and Agasias of the accusation if Agasias himself shall say that I was in any way responsible for this occurrence, and I pass judgment against myself, if I have taken the lead in stone-throwing or any other sort of violence, that I deserve to suffer the uttermost penalty, and I shall submit to the penalty. And I maintain also that if he holds any one else responsible, that man ought to put himself in Cleander's hands for trial; for in that way you would stand relieved of the accusation. But as matters are now, it will be hard if we who expected to obtain both praise and honour in Greece, shall find instead that we are not even on an equality with the rest of the Greeks, but are shut out from their cities."

After this Agasias rose and said: "Soldiers, I swear by the gods and goddesses that in very truth neither Xenophon nor any one else among you directed me to rescue the man; but when I saw a good man of my own company being led off by Dexippus, the one who betrayed you, as you know for yourselves, it seemed to me an outrage; and I rescued him, I admit it. Now do not you deliver me up; but I will myself, as Xenophon proposes, put myself in Cleander's hands, so that he may try

βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μήτε πολεμεῖτε Λακεδαιμονίοις σῴζεσθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς ὅποι θέλει ἕκαστος. συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἑλόμενοι πρὸς Κλέανδρον οἵτινες, ἄν τι ἐγὼ παραλίπω, καὶ λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.

19 Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιὰ οὕστινας βούλοιτο προελόμενον ἰέναι. ὁ δὲ προείλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Κλέανδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς
20 ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί· Ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σέ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, καὶ κελεύουσί σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιᾷ, κρίναντα σὲ αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, εἴτε ἕνα τινὰ ἢ δύο καὶ πλείους αἰτιᾷ, τούτους ἀξιοῦσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. εἴ τι οὖν ἡμῶν τινα αἰτιᾷ, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴ τι δὲ ἄλλον τινά, φράσον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀπέσται ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλῃ πείθε-
21 σθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφελόμενος Δεξίππου ἄγοντος τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παίειν κελεύσας
22 Δέξιππον. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, Δέξιππον δὲ οἶδα αἱρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πεντηκοντόρου ἧς ᾐτησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε πλοῖα συλλέγειν ὡς σῳζοίμεθα, καὶ ἀποδράντα Δέξιππον[1] καὶ

[1] Δέξιππον MSS., Mar.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

me and do with me whatever he may choose; do not for this cause make war upon the Lacedaemonians, but rather accomplish a safe return, each of you to the place where he wishes to go. I beg you, however, to choose some of your own number and send them with me to Cleander, so that if I pass over anything, they may speak, and act too, on my behalf."

Thereupon the army empowered him to choose whomever he wished and take them with him, and he chose the generals. After this Agasias set off to Cleander, and with him the generals and the man he had rescued. And the generals said: "We have been sent to you, Cleander, by the army, and they ask you, in case you accuse them all, to bring them to trial yourself and deal with them as you please; or in case you accuse some one individual, or two or more, they demand of these men that they put themselves in your hands for trial. Therefore if you have any charge against any one of us, we are now here before you; if you have any charge against any one else, tell us; for no one who is ready to yield obedience to us will fail to present himself before you." After this Agasias came forward and said: "I am the person, Cleander, who rescued this man here from Dexippus when he was leading him off, and who gave the order to strike Dexippus. For I know that this soldier here is a good man, and I know also that Dexippus was chosen by the army to be commander of the fifty-oared warship which we begged for and obtained from the Trapezuntians on the understanding that with it we were to collect vessels whereon we might return in safety, and that this Dexippus slipped away from us, and betrayed

23 προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας μεθ᾽ ὧν ἐσώθη. καὶ τούς τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀπεστερήκαμεν τὴν πεντηκόντορον καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον, αὐτοί τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν. ἤκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄπορον εἴη πεζῇ ἀπιόντας τοὺς ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλ-
24 λάδα. τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα. νόμιζε δέ, ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνῃς, δι᾽ ἄνδρα δειλόν τε καὶ πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων.

25 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς εἴη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν οὐδ᾽ εἰ παμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος βίᾳ χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν.
26 νῦν οὖν ἄπιτε καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ᾽ ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιὰν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα ἔτι, ἐπεὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελέσθαι τὸν
27 ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρεθεὶς εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ οἴει με ἀδικοῦντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὔτε ἔπαιον οὐδένα οὔτε ἔβαλλον, ἀλλ᾽ εἶπον ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ

the soldiers in whose company he had gained deliverance. So we have robbed the Trapezuntians of their warship and are rascals in their estimation, all on account of this Dexippus; indeed, we have lost our very lives, so far as lay in this fellow's power; for he heard, just as we did, that it was impossible, returning by land, to cross the rivers and reach Greece in safety. It was from that sort of a fellow, then, that I rescued his prisoner. Had it been you who were leading him off, or any one of your men, and not one of our runaways, be well assured that I should have done nothing of this kind. And believe that if you now put me to death, you are putting to death a good man for the sake of a coward and a scoundrel."

Upon hearing these words Cleander said that he had no commendation for Dexippus if he had behaved in this way, but that he nevertheless thought that even if Dexippus were an utter scoundrel, he ought not to have suffered violence; "rather," he continued, "he should first have had a trial, just as you are yourselves asking in the present case, and should then have received his punishment. For the moment, therefore, go away, leaving this man here with me, and when I issue the order, be present for the trial. And I bring no charge either against the army or any other person now that this man himself admits that he rescued the prisoner." Then the one who had been rescued said: "For myself, Cleander, in case you really imagine that I was being led off for some wrong doing, I neither struck nor stoned anybody, but merely said that the sheep were public property. For a resolution had been passed by the soldiers that if any one should do any plunder-

τις ὁπότε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίοι ἰδίᾳ λήζοιτο, δημόσια
28 εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. ταῦτα εἶπον· ἐκ τούτου με
λαβὼν οὗτος ἦγεν, ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδείς, ἀλλ᾽
αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος διασώσειε τοῖς λησταῖς
παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν[1] . . . . εἶ, κατά-
μενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.
29 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἠρίστων·
τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν καὶ συνε-
βούλευε πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραι-
30 τησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν
αὐτοῖς πέμψαντας στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ
Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἳ
ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ
31 πάντα τρόπον ἀφεῖναι τὼ ἄνδρε. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ
Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἔχεις μέν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς
ἄνδρας, καὶ ἡ στρατιά σοι ὑφεῖτο ὅ τι ἐβούλου
ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἁπάντων.
νῦν δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναι σφίσι τὼ
ἄνδρε καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθη-
32 σάτην. ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες ὑπισχνοῦνταί
σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἢν βούλῃ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἢν
οἱ θεοὶ ἵλεῳ ὦσιν, ἐπιδείξειν σοι καὶ ὡς κόσμιοί
εἰσι καὶ ὡς ἱκανοὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι τοὺς
33 πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. δέονται
δέ σου καὶ τοῦτο, παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα
ἑαυτῶν πεῖραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν

[1] Neither Mar. nor Gem. attempts to fill the lacuna which is evident at this point.

ing on his own account when the entire army went out, what he secured was to be public property. That was what I said, and thereupon this fellow seized me and proceeded to lead me off, in order that nobody might utter a word, but that he might save the booty for the plunderers in violation of the ordinance—and get his own share out of it." In reply to this Cleander said: "Well, since that is your statement, stay behind, so that we can take up your case also."

After that Cleander and his party proceeded to breakfast; and Xenophon called a meeting of the army and advised the sending of a delegation to Cleander to intercede for the men. Thereupon the troops resolved to send the generals and captains, Dracontius the Spartan, and such others as seemed fitted for the mission, and to request Cleander by all means to release the two men. So Xenophon came before him and said: "You have the men, Cleander, and the army has submitted to you and allowed you to do what you pleased both with these men and with their entire body. But now they beg and entreat you to give them the two men, and not to put them to death; for many are the labours these two have performed for the army in the past. Should they obtain this favour at your hands, they promise you in return that, if you wish to be their leader and if the gods are propitious, they will show you not only that they are orderly, but that they are able, with the help of the gods, while yielding obedience to their commander, to feel no fear of the enemy. They make this further request of you, that when you have joined them and assumed command of them, you make trial both of Dexippus and of the

τῶν ἄλλων οἷος ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν
34 ἑκάστοις νεῖμαι. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὼ σιώ, ἔφη, ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. καὶ τώ τε ἄνδρε ὑμῖν δίδωμι καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ ἢν οἱ θεοὶ διδῶσιν,[1] ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον ὡς τὸ στράτευμα ἀφίστατε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

35 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τὼ ἄνδρε· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ξυνῆν Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς καὶ ξενίαν ξυνεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιοῦντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι
36 ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ τελέθει τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖσε ἥκητε, δεξόμεθα ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα.

37 Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέπλει. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαθέμενοι τὸν σῖτον ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι καὶ τἆλλα ἃ εἰλήφεσαν ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ

[1] διδῶσιν Gem., following Hartman: παραδιδῶσιν MSS., Mar.

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[1] Castor and Pollux, the especial protectors of the Lacedaemonians. σιώ is Spartan (Doric) for θεώ.

rest of them to see how the two sorts of men compare, and then give to each his deserts." Upon hearing these words Cleander replied: "Well, by the twin gods,[1] my answer to you all will be speedy indeed. I give you the two men and I will myself join you, and if the gods so grant, I will lead you to Greece. These words of yours are decidedly the opposite of what I have been hearing about you from some people, namely, that you were trying to make the army disloyal to the Lacedaemonians."

After this they thanked him and departed, taking the two men with them; and Cleander undertook sacrifices with a view to the journey and associated amicably with Xenophon, so that the two men struck up a friendship. Furthermore, when Cleander came to see for himself that the troops carried out their orders with good discipline, he was more than ever eager to become their commander. When, however, although he continued his sacrifices over three days, the victims would not prove favourable, he called a meeting of the generals and said: "The victims do not prove favourable to me as the man to lead you onward; but it is not for you to be despondent on that account, since to you, as it seems, is given the office of delivering these soldiers. To the road, then! And we shall give you, when you have reached your journey's end, as splendid a reception as we can."

Thereupon the soldiers voted to present to him the sheep that were public property, and he accepted them, but gave them back again to the troops. Then he sailed away. And the soldiers, after selling the corn they had gathered together and the other booty they had secured, set out on their march

38 τῶν Βιθυνῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥστε ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὔμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἑκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.

through the country of the Bithynians. But when in following the direct road they failed to find any booty, to enable them to reach friendly territory with a little something in hand, they resolved to turn about and take the opposite direction for one day and night. By so doing they secured slaves and sheep in abundance; and on the sixth day they arrived at Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, where they remained for seven days, selling their spoils.

BOOK VII

Z

2 I. [1] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον—ὁ δ' ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὤν—ἐδεῖτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα
3 ποιήσειν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι. καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθο-
4 φορὰν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ βούλοιτο ἀποπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἔφη οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσειν.

5 Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ πέμπει Μηδοσάδην καὶ κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμπροθυ-
6 μηθέντι ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσει. ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαβήσεται· τούτου ἕνεκα μηδὲν

[1] The summary prefixed to Book VII. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεζῇ ἐξιόντες καὶ ἐκπλέοντες ἐποίουν μέχρι ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

BOOK VII

I. [1] After this Pharnabazus, in fear that the Greek army might carry on a campaign against his own land, sent to Anaxibius, the admiral, who chanced to be at Byzantium, and asked him to carry the army across [2] out of Asia, promising to do everything for him that might be needful. Anaxibius accordingly summoned the generals and captains to Byzantium, and gave them promises that if they crossed over, the soldiers would have regular pay. The rest of the officers replied that they would consider the matter and report back to him, but Xenophon told him that he intended to part company with the army at once, and wanted to sail home. Anaxibius, however, bade him cross over with the others, and leave them only after that. Xenophon said, therefore, that he would do so.

And now Seuthes the Thracian sent Medosades to Xenophon and urged him to help him to bring the army across, adding that if he did render such assistance, he would not be sorry for it. Xenophon replied: "Why, the army is going to cross over; so

[1] Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did on their upward march with Cyrus until the time of the battle, all that took place after the death of Cyrus on their journey to the Euxine Sea, and the whole course of their doings while they were travelling on, by land and water, from the Euxine, until they got beyond its mouth, arriving at Chrysopolis, in Asia.

[2] The Bosporus. Chrysopolis was directly opposite Byzantium.

τελείτω μήτε ἐμοὶ μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἐπειδὰν δὲ
διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς δια-
μένοντας καὶ ἐπικαιρίους ὄντας προσφερέσθω ὡς
ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἀσφαλές.
7 Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον
οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ
Ἀναξίβιος, ἐκήρυξε δὲ λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ
σκεύη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὡς ἀποπέμψων
τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρα-
τιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτί-
ζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευά-
8 ζοντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἁρμοστῇ
ξένος γεγενημένος προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτὸν ὡς
ἀποπλευσούμενος ἤδη. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει· Μὴ
ποιήσῃς ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔφη, αἰτίαν ἕξεις, ἐπεὶ
καὶ νῦν τινὲς ἤδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει
9 τὸ στράτευμα. ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' αἴτιος μὲν
ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ
ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς
10 τὴν ἔξοδον. Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγώ σοι συμβου-
λεύω ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς συμπορευσόμενον,[1] ἐπειδὰν
δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ στράτευμα, τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.
Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐλθόντες πρὸς
Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα. οὕτως ἐλθόντες ἔλε-
11 γον ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευεν οὕτω ποιεῖν καὶ
ἐξιέναι τὴν ταχίστην συσκευασαμένους, καὶ

[1] συμπορευσόμενον Gem., following Hirschig: πορευσόμενον MSS., Mar.

far as that is concerned, let not Seuthes pay anything either to me or to any one else; but as soon as it has crossed, when I myself am to leave the army, let him deal with those who stay on and are in authority, in any way that may seem to him safe."

After this all the soldiers crossed over to Byzantium. And Anaxibius would not give them pay, but made proclamation that the troops were to take their arms and their baggage and go forth from the city, saying that he was going to send them back home and at the same time to make an enumeration of them. At that the soldiers were angry, for they had no money with which to procure provisions for the journey, and they set about packing up with reluctance. Xenophon meanwhile, since he had become a friend of Cleander, the governor, called to take leave of him, saying that he was to sail home at once. And Cleander said to him: "Do not do so; if you do," said he, "you will be blamed, for even now certain people are laying it to your charge that the army is slow about moving away." Xenophon replied: "Why, I am not responsible for that; it is rather that the soldiers lack food supplies and on that account are depressed about their going away." "Nevertheless," said Cleander, "I advise you to go forth from the city as though you were planning to make the journey with them, and to leave them only when the army has got outside." "Well, then," said Xenophon, "we will go to Anaxibius and negotiate about this matter." So they went and put the question before him. His orders were, that Xenophon was to follow the course proposed and that the troops were to pack up and leave the city with all speed; and he further declared

προσανεῖπεν, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν
καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὑτὸν αἰτιάσεται.
12 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆσαν οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔξω
ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος εἱστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς
ὁπότε ἔξω γένοιντο πάντες συγκλείσων τὰς πύλας
13 καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος συγκα-
λέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἔλεγεν·
Τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ τῶν Θρᾳκίων
κωμῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ
τἆλλα ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς Χερ-
14 ρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει. ἐπ-
ακούσαντες δέ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἢ καὶ
τῶν λοχαγῶν τις διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα.
καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ
Σεύθου πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα
διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ
15 μέσης τῆς Θρᾴκης. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο οἱ
στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ
πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὡς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες.
ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶδον προσ-
θέοντας τοὺς ὁπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας καὶ
16 τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
ἔκοπτον τὰς πύλας καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀδικώτατα
πάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· κατα-
σχίσειν τε τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἑκόντες

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[1] A Lacedaemonian officer who figures rather prominently in the story of the Peloponnesian War (*Hell.* I. i. 32, vi. 26, etc.); now apparently an aide to Anaxibius.

[2] A Lacedaemonian general engaged in war with the Thracians.

[3] On the northern coast of the Propontis. Their destina-

that any one who was not present for the review and the enumeration would have himself to blame for the consequences.

After that the army proceeded to march forth from the city, the generals at the head and then the rest. And now the entire body with the exception of a few men were outside, and Eteonicus[1] was standing by the gates ready, as soon as the last man got out, to close the gates and thrust in the cross-bar. Then Anaxibius called together the generals and captains and said: "Get your provisions from the Thracian villages; there is an abundance there of barley and wheat and other supplies; when you have got them, proceed to the Chersonese, and there Cyniscus[2] will take you into his pay." And some of the soldiers, overhearing these words, or perhaps one of the captains, proceeded to spread the report of them through the army. Meanwhile the generals were inquiring about Seuthes, whether he was hostile or friendly, and whether they were to march by way of the Sacred Mountain[3] or go round through the middle of Thrace. While they were talking over these matters, the soldiers caught up their arms and rushed at full speed toward the gates, intending to get back inside the city wall. But when Eteonicus and his men saw the hoplites running towards them, they shut the gates and thrust in the bar. The soldiers, however, set to hammering at the gates, and said that they were most unjustly treated in being cast out and left at the mercy of the enemy; and they declared that they would break through the gates if the keepers did not open

tion was the Gallipoli peninsula, and the alternative routes are a short but difficult one or a long, easy one.

17 ἀνοίξουσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ ἔθεον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλοι δὲ οἳ ἐτύγχανον[1] ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὁρῶσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόπτοντες ταῖς ἀξίναις τὰ κλεῖθρα ἀναπεταννύασι τὰς πύλας, οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.

18 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὡς εἶδε τὰ γιγνόμενα, δείσας μὴ ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει καὶ συνεισπίπτει εἴσω τῶν
19 πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσπῖπτον, φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε, ὅσοι δὲ ἔνδον ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἔξω, οἱ δὲ καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σῴζοιντο, πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὡς ἑαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως.
20 ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν ἁλιευτικῷ πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Καλχηδόνος φρουρούς· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

21 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον Ξενοφῶντα, προσπίπτουσι πολλοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσι· Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσούτους. νῦν ἄν, εἰ βούλοιο, σύ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαις
22 καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρεμίσαι·[2] Ἀλλ' εὖ γε λέγετε καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπι-

[1] Before ἐτύγχανον Gem. inserts ἔτι, following Hartman.

them of their own accord. Meanwhile others ran down to the shore, made their way along the breakwater, and thus scaled the wall and got into the city, while still others, who chanced to be within the walls, seeing what was going on at the gates, cut through the bar with their axes and threw the gates open, whereupon the rest rushed in.

When Xenophon saw what was taking place, being seized with fear lest the army might fall to plundering and irreparable harm might be done to the city, to himself, and to the soldiers, he ran and plunged within the gates along with the rest of the throng. As for the Byzantines, no sooner did they see the army bursting in by force than they fled from the market-place, some to their boats and others to their homes, while all who chanced to be indoors ran out, and some took to launching the ships-of-war in order to seek safety in them—all alike imagining that they were lost and the city captured. Eteonicus made his escape to the citadel. Anaxibius ran down to the shore, sailed round in a fishing boat to the citadel, and immediately summoned the garrison from Calchedon; for the force in the citadel did not seem adequate to bring the Greek troops under control.

As soon as the soldiers saw Xenophon, many of them rushed towards him and said: "Now is your opportunity, Xenophon, to prove yourself a man. You have a city, you have triremes, you have money, you have this great number of men. Now, should you so wish, you would render us a service and we should make you great." He replied, desiring to quiet them down: "Your advice is certainly good, and I shall do as you say; but if this is what you

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[2] βουλόμενος . . . κατηρεμίσαι stands in the MSS. after ὡς τάχιστα: transposed by Schenkl, whom Gem. follows.

θυμεῖτε, θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα.
καὶ αὐτός τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
23 ἐκέλευε παρεγγυᾶν τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ
αὐτοὶ ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι οἵ τε ὁπλῖται ἐν
ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ
24 ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας ἑκάτερον παρεδεδραμήκεσαν. τὸ δὲ
χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαί ἐστι τὸ Θρᾴ-
κιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ
25 ὁ Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ λέγει τάδε. Ὅτι
μὲν ὀργίζεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε
δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατώμενοι οὐ θαυμάζω. ἢν
δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε
τοὺς παρόντας τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα καὶ
τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυ-
26 μεῖσθε ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν. πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα
ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμά-
χοις. οἷος δὲ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο εἰκάζειν δὴ
πάρεστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας τὰ νῦν
27 δὴ γεγενημένα. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἤλθομεν
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ
τοὺς συμμάχους ἔχοντες τριήρεις τὰς μὲν ἐν
θαλάττῃ τὰς δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττους
τριακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προσόδου οὔσης κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀπό τε τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μεῖον
χιλίων ταλάντων· ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν νήσων ἁπα-
σῶν καὶ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολλὰς ἔχοντες πόλεις
καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὸ
τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἐσμεν, ἔχοντες

long for, ground your arms in line of battle with all speed." Then he proceeded to pass along this order himself and bade the others send it on—to ground their arms in battle line. The men acted as their own marshals, and within a short time the hoplites had fallen into line eight deep and the peltasts had got into position on either wing. The place where they were, indeed, is a most excellent one for drawing out a line of troops, being the so-called Thracian Square, which is free of houses and level. As soon as their arms were grounded and they had quieted down, Xenophon called the troops together and spoke as follows: "That you are angry, fellow soldiers, and believe you are outrageously treated in being so deceived, I do not wonder. But if we indulge our anger, by taking vengeance for this deception upon the Lacedaemonians who are here and by sacking the city which is in no way to blame, consider the results that will follow. We shall be declared to be at war with the Lacedaemonians and their allies. And what sort of a war that would prove to be one may at least conjecture by having seen and by recalling to mind the events which have quite lately taken place. We Athenians, remember, entered upon our war against the Lacedaemonians and their allies with no fewer than three hundred triremes, some afloat and others in the dockyards, with an abundance of treasure already at hand in our city, and with a yearly revenue, accruing at home or coming in from our foreign possessions, of not less than a thousand talents; we ruled over all the islands, we possessed many cities in Asia, in Europe we possessed among many others this very city of Byzantium also, where we now are,—and we were

κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως ὡς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐπί-
28 στασθε. νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακε-
δαιμονίοις μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συμμάχων ὑπαρ-
χόντων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ οἳ ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν
σύμμαχοι πάντων προσγεγενημένων, Τισσαφέρ-
νους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βαρβάρων
πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτου δὲ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρησό-
μενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα;
τούτων δὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων ἔστι τις οὕτως
29 ἄφρων ὅστις οἴεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; μὴ
πρὸς θεῶν μαινώμεθα μηδ' αἰσχρῶς ἀπολώμεθα
πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέ-
ροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς
πόλεσίν εἰσι πάντες ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομέ-
ναις, καὶ δικαίως, εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν
ἠθελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες,
Ἑλληνίδα δὲ εἰς ἣν πρώτην ἤλθομεν πόλιν, ταύ-
30 την ἐξαλαπάξομεν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὔχομαι πρὶν
ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε
κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργυὰς γενέσθαι. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμ-
βουλεύω Ἕλληνας ὄντας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προ-
εστηκόσι πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων
τυγχάνειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ
ἀδικουμένους τῆς γοῦν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι.
31 καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ πέμψαντας Ἀναξιβίῳ εἰπεῖν
ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βίαιον ποιήσοντες παρεληλύθαμεν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν
ἀγαθόν τι εὑρίσκεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ δηλώ-
σοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπατώμενοι ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι
ἐξερχόμεθα.

vanquished, in the way that all of you remember. What fate, then, may you and I expect to suffer now, when the Lacedaemonians still have their old allies, when the Athenians and all who at that time were allied with them have been added to the number, when Tissaphernes and all the rest of the barbarians on the coast are hostile to us, and most hostile of all the King himself, up in the interior, the man whom we came to deprive of his empire, and to kill if we could? With all these banded together against us, is there any man so witless as to suppose that we should come off victorious? In the name of the gods let us not be mad, nor let us perish disgracefully as enemies both to our native states and to our own friends and kinsmen. For all of them are in the cities which will take the field against us, and will do so justly if we, after refraining from the seizure of any barbarian city, conquerors though we were, are to take the first Greek city we have come to and pillage that. For my part, therefore, I pray that sooner than live to behold this deed wrought by you, I may be laid ten thousand fathoms underground. And to you my advice is, that being Greeks you endeavour to obtain your just rights by obedience to the leaders of the Greeks. If you are unable to accomplish this, we must not at any rate, even though wronged, be deprived of our return to Greece. And now it is my opinion that we should send messengers to Anaxibius and say to him: 'We have not made our way into the city to do any violence, but to obtain some good thing from you if we can, or if that is not possible, at least to show that we go forth, not because we are deceived, but because we are obedient.'"

32 Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἱερώνυμόν τε
τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἐροῦντα ταῦτα καὶ Εὐρύλοχον
Ἀρκάδα καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
ᾤχοντο ἐροῦντες.
33 Ἔτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσέρχε-
ται Κοιρατάδας Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν
Ἑλλάδα περιῄει ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγοῦ δέοιτο·
καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἕτοιμος εἴη ἡγεῖ-
σθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θρᾴκης,
ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήψοιντο· ἔστε δ᾽ ἂν
μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σιτία
34 καὶ ποτά. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις
καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξιβίου ἅμα ἀπαγγελλόμενα—
ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὅτι πειθομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ
μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα
ἀπαγγελεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς βουλεύσοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ
35 τι δύναιτο ἀγαθόν—ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τόν
τε Κοιρατάδαν δέχονται στρατηγὸν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ
τείχους ἀπῆλθον. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδας συντίθεται
αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ
στράτευμα ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν καὶ σιτία
36 καὶ ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξί-
βιος ἔκλεισε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ὃς ἂν ἁλῷ
37 ἔνδον ὢν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅτι πεπράσεται. τῇ
δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ Κοιρατάδας μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ
τὸν μάντιν ἧκε καὶ ἄλφιτα φέροντες εἵποντο αὐτῷ
εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες καὶ οἶνον ἄλλοι εἴκοσι καὶ ἐλαῶν
τρεῖς καὶ σκορόδων ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον

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[1] See *Hell.* I. iii. 15–22.

[2] Probably the triangular peninsula lying between the Euxine, the Bosporus, and the Propontis.

This course was resolved upon, and they sent Hieronymus the Elean, Eurylochus the Arcadian, and Philesius the Achaean to bear this message. So they departed to perform their mission.

While the soldiers were still in session Coeratadas[1] the Theban came in, a man who was going up and down Greece, not in exile, but because he was afflicted with a desire to be a general, and he was offering his services to any city or people that might be wanting a general; so at this time he came to the troops and said that he was ready to lead them to the Delta,[2] as it is called, of Thrace, where they could get plenty of good things; and until they should reach there, he said he would supply them with food and drink in abundance. When the soldiers heard this proposal and the word that came back at the same time from Anaxibius—his reply was, that if they were obedient they would not be sorry for it, but that he would report the matter to his government at home and would himself devise whatever good counsel he could in their case—they thereupon accepted Coeratadas as general and withdrew outside the walls. And Coeratadas made an agreement with them that he would join the army on the next day with sacrificial victims and a soothsayer, as well as food and drink for the troops. Meanwhile, as soon as they had gone forth from the city, Anaxibius closed the gates and made proclamation that any soldier who might be caught inside the city would be sold as a slave. On the next day Coeratadas arrived with his sacrificial victims and his soothsayer, and there followed him twenty men loaded with barley-meal, another twenty with wine, three with olives, another man with as big a load of garlic

φορτίον καὶ ἄλλος κρομμύων. ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμενος ὡς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν ἐθύετο.

38 Ξενοφῶν δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος Κλέανδρον ἐκέλευε διαπρᾶξαι ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσέλθοι καὶ
39 ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ Βυζαντίου. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Κλέανδρος μάλα μόλις ἔφη διαπραξάμενος ἥκειν·[1] λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἴη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅμως δὲ εἰσιέναι,
40 ἔφη, ἐκέλευεν, εἰ μέλλεις σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπλεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῄει σὺν Κλεάνδρῳ. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδας τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἱστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ Κοιρατάδας ἐστεφανωμένος ὡς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἔλεγον Κοιρατάδᾳ μὴ θύειν, ὡς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ
41 στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῷ ὥστε ἡμέρας σῖτον ἑκάστῳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπῄει καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπειπών.

II. Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Φιλήσιος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς κώμας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν προελθόντες τὰς

[1] ἥκειν Gem., following Cobet: ἥκω MSS., Mar.

as he could carry, and another with onions. After setting down all these things, as though for distribution, he proceeded to sacrifice.

And now Xenophon sent for Cleander and urged him to make arrangements so that he could enter within the wall and thus sail homeward from Byzantium. When Cleander returned, he said that it was only with very great difficulty that he had accomplished the arrangement; for Anaxibius said it was not well to have the soldiers close by the wall and Xenophon within it; the Byzantines, moreover, were in a factious state and hostile to one another. "Nevertheless," Cleander continued, "he bade you come in if you are intending to sail away with him." Xenophon accordingly took his leave of the soldiers and went back within the wall in company with Cleander. As for Coeratadas, on the first day he could not get good omens from his sacrifices nor did he serve out any rations at all to the troops; on the following day the victims were standing beside the altar and Coeratadas had on his chaplet, ready for the sacrifice, when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinaean, and Cleanor the Orchomenian came up and told him not to make the offering, for he was not to be leader of the army unless he should give them provisions. So he ordered rations to be served out. When it proved, however, that his supply fell far short of amounting to a day's food for each of the soldiers, he took his victims and went away, renouncing his generalship.

II. There now remained in command of the army Neon the Asinaean, Phryniscus the Achaean, Philesius the Achaean, Xanthicles the Achaean, and Timasion the Dardanian, and they proceeded to some villages

2 κατὰ Βυζάντιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. καὶ οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος
πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· ἔπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς,
καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα· Νέων
δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις
γένοιντο, παντὸς ἂν προεστάναι τοῦ στρατεύ-
ματος· Τιμασίων δὲ προυθυμεῖτο πέραν εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἂν οἴκαδε κατ-
3 ελθεῖν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταὐτὰ ἐβούλοντο. δια-
τριβομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,
οἱ μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους
ἀπέπλεον ὡς ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς πό-
4 λεις κατεμείγνυντο. Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρε ταῦτα
ἀκούων, διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων
γὰρ γιγνομένων ᾤετο μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι Φαρνα-
βάζῳ.
5 Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συν-
αντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ
Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστής· ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος
διάδοχος Πῶλος ὅσον οὐ παρείη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσ-
6 ποντον. καὶ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπι-
στέλλει ὁπόσους ἂν εὕρῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου
στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ
Κλέανδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευεν οἰκτίρων καὶ ἀναγκάζων
οἰκίᾳ δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχι-
7 στα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο. Ἀναξί-

[1] *cp.* i. 13 and note thereon.
[2] *i.e.* since he was the only Lacedaemonian among the generals.

of the Thracians which were near Byzantium and there encamped. Now the generals were at variance in their views: Cleanor and Phryniscus wanted to lead the army to Seuthes, for he had been trying to persuade them to this course and had given one of them a horse and the other a woman; Neon wanted to go to the Chersonese,[1] thinking that if the troops should fall under the control of the Lacedaemonians, he would be leader of the entire army;[2] and Timasion was eager to cross back again to Asia, for he thought that in this way he could accomplish his return home.[3] As for the troops, to return home was what they also desired. As time wore on, however, many of the soldiers either sold their arms up and down the country and set sail for home in any way they could, or else mingled with the people of the neighbouring Greek cities. And Anaxibius was glad to hear the news that the army was breaking up; for he thought that if this process went on, Pharnabazus would be very greatly pleased.

While Anaxibius was on his homeward voyage from Byzantium, he was met at Cyzicus by Aristarchus, Cleander's successor as governor of Byzantium; and it was reported that his own successor as admiral, Polus, had by this time all but reached the Hellespont. Anaxibius, then, charged Aristarchus to sell as slaves all the soldiers of Cyrus' army that he might find left behind at Byzantium. As for Cleander, he had not sold one of them, but had even been caring for their sick out of pity and compelling the Byzantines to receive them in their houses; but the moment Aristarchus arrived he sold no fewer than four hundred. When Anaxibius had coasted along

[3] *cp.* V. vi. 23.

βιος δὲ παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον πέμπει παρὰ
Φαρνάβαζον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ
ᾔσθετο Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἥκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον
ἁρμοστὴν καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα,
Ἀναξιβίου μὲν ἠμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ
διεπράττετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κύρου στρατεύμα-
τος ἅπερ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.

8 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα
κελεύει πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ
στράτευμα ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν τε αὐτὸ καὶ
συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὡς ἂν πλείστους
δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον δια-
βιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν
αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἄνδρα συμ-
πέμπει κελεύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα
Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στρά-
9 τευμα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖ-
ται ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο
ἡδέως καὶ εὐθὺς εἵποντο ἄσμενοι ὡς διαβησόμενοι
ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

10 Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἀκούσας ἥκοντα πάλιν πέμψας
πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην ἐδεῖτο
τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπισχνούμενος
αὐτῷ ὅ τι ᾤετο λέγων πείσειν. ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο
ὅτι οὐδὲν οἷόν τε εἴη τούτων γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ
11 μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ᾤχετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ
ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακοσίους

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[1] *cp.* i. 2.

[2] Who was manifestly making the voyage with him *cp.* i. 39 above.

[3] On the European shore of the Propontis.

to Parium, he sent to Pharnabazus, according to the terms of their agreement.[1] As soon as Pharnabazus learned, however, that Aristarchus had come to Byzantium as governor and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, he paid no heed to Anaxibius, but set about making the same arrangement with Aristarchus in regard to Cyrus' army as he had had with Anaxibius.

Thereupon Anaxibius summoned Xenophon [2] and urged him by all manner of means to set sail as quickly as possible and join the army, and not only to keep it together, but likewise to collect the greatest number he could of those who had become scattered from the main body, and then, after leading the entire force along the coast to Perinthus,[3] to take it across to Asia with all speed; he also gave him a thirty-oared warship and a letter, and sent with him a man who was to order the Perinthians to furnish Xenophon with horses and speed him on his way to the army as rapidly as possible. So Xenophon sailed across to Perinthus and then made his way to the army; and the soldiers received him with pleasure, and were glad to follow his lead at once, with the idea of crossing over from Thrace to Asia.

Meanwhile Seuthes, upon hearing of Xenophon's arrival, sent Medosades to him again by sea, and begged him to bring the army to him, offering any promise whereby he imagined he could persuade him. Xenophon replied that it was not possible for anything of this sort to come to pass, and upon receiving this answer Medosades departed. As for the Greeks, when they reached Perinthus, Neon with about eight hundred men parted company with the others and took up a separate camp; but all the

ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Περινθίων ἦν.

12 Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα διαβαῖεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπεῖπε μὴ διάγειν ἐλθών τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἶπε μὴ περαιοῦσθαι
13 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν· Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἁρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καταδύσω. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ
14 λοχαγοὺς τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἤδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι εἰ εἴσεισι, συλληφθήσεται καὶ ἢ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται ἢ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ παραδοθήσεται. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν προπέμπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι
15 θῦσαί τι βούλοιτο. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο εἰ παρεῖεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. ἑώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς ὂν τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσοντος, οὔτ' ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γενέσθαι ἔνθα πείθεσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη ἦν [1] τῷ ἐκεῖ ἁρμοστῇ, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν τὸ στράτευμα.

[1] ἦν inserted by Bisschop, whom Gem. follows.

rest of the army were together in the same place, beside the wall of the Perinthians.

After this Xenophon proceeded to negotiate for ships, in order that they might cross over with all possible speed. But meantime Aristarchus, the governor at Byzantium, arrived with two triremes and, having been persuaded to this course by Pharnabazus, not only forbade the shipmasters to carry the army across, but came to the camp and told the soldiers not to pass over into Asia. Xenophon replied, "Anaxibius so ordered, and sent me here for that purpose." And Aristarchus retorted, "Anaxibius, mark you, is no longer admiral, and I am governor here; if I catch any one of you on the sea, I will sink him." With these words he departed within the walls of Perinthus. On the next day he sent for the generals and captains of the army. When they were already near the wall, some one brought word to Xenophon that if he went in he would be seized, and would either meet some ill fate then and there or else be delivered over to Pharnabazus. Upon hearing this he sent the rest on ahead, telling them that he was desirous himself of offering a certain sacrifice. Then he went back and sacrificed to learn whether the gods permitted of his endeavouring to take the army to Seuthes. For he saw that it was not safe for them to try to cross over to Asia when the man who intended to prevent their passage possessed triremes; on the other hand, it was not his desire that the army should go to the Chersonese and find itself shut up and in sore need of everything in a place where it would be necessary to obey the resident governor and where the army would not obtain anything in the way of provisions.

16 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἥκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δείλης δὲ ἥκειν· ἔνθα καὶ δήλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει
17 ἡ ἐπιβουλή. ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἰέναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λοχαγὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκάστου ἄνδρα—πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος—ᾧ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν ᾤχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στρά-
18 τευμα ἑξήκοντα στάδια. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν[1] αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυγχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ θορύβου τε ᾔσθετο καὶ σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἴη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὁρῷντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες μήτε ὁπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν.

19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἤροντο εἰ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος.
20 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρῆσαν πελτασταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ

[1] ἦσαν MSS., Mar.: ἦν Gem.

While Xenophon was occupied with his sacrificing, the generals and captains returned from their visit to Aristarchus with word that he directed them to go away for the present, but to come back during the afternoon; at that report the design against Xenophon seemed to be even more manifest. Since, therefore, the sacrifices appeared to be favourable, portending that he and the army might go to Seuthes in safety, Xenophon took Polycrates, the Athenian captain, and from each of the generals except Neon a man in whom each had confidence, and set off by night to visit Seuthes' army, sixty stadia away. When they had got near it, he came upon watch-fires with no one about them. And at first he supposed that Seuthes had shifted his camp to some other place; but when he became aware of a general uproar and heard Seuthes' followers signalling to one another, he comprehended that the reason Seuthes had his watch-fires kindled in front of the pickets was in order that the pickets might remain unseen, in the darkness as they were, so that no one could tell either how many they were or where they were, while on the other hand people who were approaching could not escape notice, but would be visible in the light of the fires.

When he did see pickets, he sent forward the interpreter he chanced to have and bade them tell Seuthes that Xenophon had come and desired to meet with him. They asked whether he was an Athenian from the army, and when Xenophon made reply that he was the man, they leaped up and hastened off; and a little afterwards about two hundred peltasts appeared, took Xenophon and his party,

21 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἦγον πρὸς Σεύθην. ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν
τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν
κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς
μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλου τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας
22 ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο. ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ
πρόσθεν Τήρης ὁ τούτου πρόγονος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
χώρᾳ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν
ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα
ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοί, πάντων λεγό-
μενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.
23 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενο-
φῶντα ἔχοντα δύο οὓς βούλοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον
ἦσαν, ἠσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους καὶ κατὰ
τὸν Θρᾴκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προὔπινον· παρῆν
δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅσπερ ἐπρέσβευεν
24 αὐτῷ πάντοσε. ἔπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν·
Ἔπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ὦ Σεύθη, εἰς Καλχηδόνα
πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί, δεόμενός μου συμ-
προθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πρά-
ξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσειν, ὡς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὗτος.
25 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἀληθῆ
ταῦτα εἴη. ὁ δ' ἔφη. Αὖθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης
οὗτος ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ διέβην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα
ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα
πρὸς σέ, τἆλλα τέ σε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ
ἀδελφῷ καὶ τὰ παρὰ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία ὧν σὺ
26 κρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ. ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν

[1] See i. 5, and § 10 above.

and proceeded to conduct them to Seuthes. He was in a tower and well guarded, and all around the tower were horses ready bridled; for out of fear he gave his horses their fodder by day, and by night kept them ready bridled to guard himself with. For there was a story that in time gone by Teres, an ancestor of Seuthes, being in this region with a large army, lost many of his troops and was robbed of his baggage train at the hands of the people of this neighbourhood; they were the Thynians, and were said to be the most warlike of all men, especially by night.

When the Greek party had drawn near, Seuthes directed Xenophon to come in, with any two men he might choose to bring with him. As soon as they were inside, they first greeted one another and drank healths after the Thracian fashion in horns of wine; and Seuthes had Medosades present also, the same man who went everywhere as his envoy.[1] After that Xenophon began the speaking: "You sent to me, Seuthes, first at Calchedon, this man Medosades, with the request that I make every effort on your behalf to bring the army across from Asia, and with the promise that if I should do this, you would treat me well—as Medosades here declared." After saying this, he asked Medosades whether this statement of the matter was a true one. He replied that it was. "Medosades here came to me a second time after I had crossed over from Parium to rejoin the army, and promised that if I should bring the army to you, you would not only treat me in all ways as a friend and a brother, but in particular would give me the places on the seacoast of which you hold possession." Hereupon he

ἤρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ συν-
ἔφη καὶ ταῦτα. Ἴθι νυν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ
27 τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Καλχηδόνι πρῶτον. Ἀπ-
εκρίνω ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον
καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἕνεκα δέοι τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε
ἄλλῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ
28 ἐγένετο οὕτως ὥσπερ σὺ ἔλεγες. Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον,
ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυμβρίαν ἀφίκου; Οὐκ ἔφησθα
οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς Πέρινθον ἐλθόντας δια-
29 βαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ
Ξενοφῶν, πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος
εἷς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος εἷς τῶν
λοχαγῶν, καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ
πιστότατος ἑκάστῳ πλὴν ἀπὸ[1] Νέωνος τοῦ
30 Λακωνικοῦ. εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν
πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσαι. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα σὺ
ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὦ Πολύκρατες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω κατα-
λιπεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν
εἴσιθι.

31 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν
ἀπιστήσειεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς
εἶεν εἰδέναι καὶ φίλους εὔνους ἔφη νομίζειν. μετὰ
ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν
ἐπήρετο Σεύθην ὅ τι δέοιτο χρῆσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ.
32 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε. Μαισάδης ἦν πατήρ μοι, ἐκείνου
δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδῖται καὶ Θυνοὶ καὶ Τρανίψαι.

[1] ἀπὸ inserted by Gem., following Hartman; *cp.* § 17 above.

[1] According to tradition, through the marriage of the Thracian Tereus (or Teres, *cp.* § 22 above, but see also Thuc. ii. 29) with Procne, daughter of the Athenian king Pandion.

again asked Medosades whether this was what he said, and he again agreed that it was. "Come, now," Xenophon went on, "tell Seuthes what answer I made you that first time at Calchedon." "You answered that the army was going to cross over to Byzantium and there was no need, so far as that was concerned, of paying anything to you or any one else; you also stated that when you had got across, you were yourself to leave the army; and it turned out just as you said." "What then did I say," Xenophon asked, "at the time when you came to me near Selymbria?" "You said that the project was not possible, but that you were going to Perinthus and intended to cross over from there to Asia." "Well, then," said Xenophon, "at this moment I am here myself, along with Phryniscus here, one of the generals, and Polycrates yonder, one of the captains, and outside are representatives of the other generals except Neon the Laconian, in each case the man most trusted by each general. If you wish, therefore, to have the transaction better safeguarded, call them in also. Go and say to them, Polycrates, that I direct them to leave their arms behind, and do you yourself leave your sabre out there before coming back again."

Upon hearing these words Seuthes said that he should not distrust any one who was an Athenian; for he knew, he said, that the Athenians were kinsmen[1] of his, and he believed they were loyal friends. After this, when those who were to be present had come in, Xenophon began by asking Seuthes what use he wanted to make of the army. Then Seuthes spoke as follows: "Maesades was my father, and his realm embraced the Melanditae, the

ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν
πράγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸς μὲν
ἀποθνήσκει νόσῳ, ἐγὼ δ' ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ
33 Μηδόκῳ τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος
ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ζῆν εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν τρά-
πεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδίφριος
αὐτῷ ἱκέτης δοῦναί μοι ὁπόσους δυνατὸς εἴη
ἄνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς εἴ τι
δυναίμην κακὸν ποιοίην καὶ ζῴην μὴ εἰς τὴν
34 ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων. ἐκ τούτου μοι
δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς ὑμεῖς
ὄψεσθε ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ
τούτους ἔχων, ληζόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρῴαν
χώραν. εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν
σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥᾳδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.
ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι.
35 Τί ἂν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοι-
μεν, τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς; λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλλωσιν.
36 ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ κυζικηνόν, τῷ
δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετρα-
μοιρίαν, καὶ γῆν ὁπόσην ἂν βούλωνται καὶ ζεύγη
37 καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον. Ἐὰν δέ,
ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα πειρώμενοι μὴ διαπρά-
ξωμεν, ἀλλά τις φόβος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ᾖ,
δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ, ἐάν τις ἀπιέναι βούληται
38 παρὰ σέ; ὁ δ' εἶπε· Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι
καὶ ἐνδιφρίους καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἁπάντων ὧν ἂν

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[1] *i.e.* per month. For the Cyzicene, see note on v. vi. 23.
[2] *i.e.* to persuade the troops to take service under Seuthes. See below.

Thynians, and the Tranipsae. Now when the affairs of the Odrysians fell into a bad state, my father was driven out of this country, and thereafter sickened and died, while I, the son, was brought up as an orphan at the court of Medocus, the present king. When I became a young man, however, I could not endure to live with my eyes turned toward another's table; so I sat myself down on the same seat with Medocus as a suppliant and besought him to give me as many men as he could, in order that I might inflict whatever harm I could upon those who drove us out, and might live without turning my eyes toward his table. Thereupon he gave me the men and the horses that you will see for yourselves as soon as day has come. And now I live with them, plundering my own ancestral land. But if you should join me, I think that with the aid of the gods I could easily recover my realm. It is this that I want."

"What, then," said Xenophon, "should you be able, in case we came, to give to the rank and file, to the captains, and to the generals? Tell us, so that these men here may carry back word." And Seuthes promised to give to each soldier a Cyzicene,[1] to the captains twice as much, and to the generals four times as much; furthermore, as much land as they might wish, yokes of oxen, and a fortified place upon the seacoast." "But," said Xenophon, "if we make this attempt[2] and do not succeed, because of some intimidation on the part of the Lacedaemonians, will you receive into your country any one who may wish to leave the army and come to you?" And he replied: "Nay, more than that, I will make you my brothers, table-companions, sharers to the uttermost in all that we

δυνώμεθα κτᾶσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ, ὠνήσομαι Θρᾳκίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

III. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἀπήλαυνον· καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς
2 πέμψασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει τοὺς στρατηγούς· τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν ἐᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι. καὶ συνῆλθον πάντες πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὡς δέκα στάδια.
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε. Ἄνδρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν ἔνθα βουλόμεθα Ἀρίσταρχος τριήρεις ἔχων κωλύει· ὥστε εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸς κελεύει εἰς Χερρόνησον βίᾳ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δὲ κρατήσαντες τούτου ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι ὑμᾶς φησιν ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθόν, οὔτε περιόψεσθαι ἔτι ὥσπερ νυνὶ δεο-
4 μένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δέ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἴητε, εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλεύσεσθε ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
5 ἐπανελθόντες. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν ὥστε ἀγοράζειν οὔτε ἄνευ

[1] *cp.* i. 13, and note thereon.

may find ourselves able to acquire. And to you, Xenophon, I will also give my daughter, and if you have a daughter, I will buy her after the Thracian fashion; and I will give you for a residence Bisanthe, the very fairest of all the places I have upon the seacoast."

III. After hearing these words and giving and receiving pledges they rode away, and before daybreak they arrived at the camp and made their report, each one to those who had sent him. When day came, Aristarchus again summoned the generals; but they resolved to disregard the summons of Aristarchus and instead to call a meeting of the army. And all the troops gathered except Neon's men, who were encamped about ten stadia away. When they had gathered, Xenophon arose and spoke as follows: "Soldiers, as for sailing across to the place where we wish to go, Aristarchus with his triremes prevents our doing that; the result is, that it is not safe for us to embark upon boats; but this same Aristarchus directs us to force our way to the Chersonese, through the Sacred Mountain[1]; and if we make ourselves masters of the mountain and get to the Chersonese, he says that he will not sell you any more, as he did at Byzantium, that you will not be cheated any more but will receive pay, and that he will not shut his eyes any more, as he does now, to your being in want of provisions. So much for what Aristarchus says; but Seuthes says that if you come to him, he will treat you well. Now, therefore, make up your minds whether you will consider this question here and now or after you have set forth in quest of provisions. My own opinion is, seeing that here we neither have money with which

ἀργυρίου ἐῶσι λαμβάνειν, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας ὅθεν οἱ ἧττους ἐῶσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀκούοντας ὅ τι τις ἡμῶν δεῖται, αἱρεῖσθαι ὅ τι ἂν ἡμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι.
6 καὶ ὅτῳ, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀπιόντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὰν παραγγέλλῃ τις, ἕπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.

7 Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄγγελοι[1] ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσον τριάκοντα στάδια προεληλύθεσαν, ἀπαντᾷ Σεύθης. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστων ἀκουόντων εἴποι
8 αὐτῷ ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα ὅπου μέλλει ἕξειν τὸ στράτευμα τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούοντες καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ αἱρησόμεθα ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. ἢν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ ὅπου πλεῖστά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιοῦμεν ξενί-
9 ζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀρι-
10 στῴητε. Ἡγοῦ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ

[1] ἄγγελοι Gem., following Hug: ἄλλοι MSS., Mar.

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[1] Aristarchus.

to buy nor are permitted to take anything without money, that we ought to set forth to the villages from which we are permitted to take, since their inhabitants are weaker than ourselves, and that there, possessed of provisions and hearing what the service is that one wants us for, we should choose whatever course may seem best to us. Whoever," he said, "holds this opinion, let him raise his hand." Every hand was raised. "Go away, then," Xenophon continued, "and pack up, and when the word is given, follow the van."

After this Xenophon led the way and the troops followed. Neon, indeed, and messengers from Aristarchus tried to persuade them to turn back, but they would not listen to them. When they had advanced as much as thirty stadia, Seuthes met them. And Xenophon, catching sight of him, bade him ride up to the troops, in order that he might tell him within hearing of the greatest possible number what they had decided upon as advantageous. When he had come up, Xenophon said: "We are on our way to a place where the army will be able to get food; there we shall listen both to you and to the Laconian's[1] messengers, and make whatever choice may seem to be best. If, then, you will guide us to a spot where there are provisions in greatest abundance, we shall think we are being hospitably entertained by you." And Seuthes replied: "Why, I know a large number of villages, close together and containing all sorts of provisions, that are just far enough away from us so that, when you have covered the distance, you would enjoy your breakfast." "Lead on, then," said Xenophon. When they had reached the villages, in the after-

στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Σεύθης τοιάδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί, κα ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν δώσειν τοῖς στρατιώταις κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω. σῖτα δὲ καὶ ποτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἕξετε· ὁπόσα δ' ἂν ἁλίσκηται ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω.
11 καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἂν δέ τις ἀνθιστῆται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.
12 ἐπήρετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στράτευμα; ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐδαμῇ πλέον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, μεῖον δὲ πολλαχῇ.

13 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγει Σεύθης· χειμὼν γὰρ εἴη καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν τῷ τοῦτο βουλομένῳ δυνατὸν εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἷόν τε, εἰ δέοι ὠνουμένους ζῆν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου ἢ μόνους.[1] ὄντων δ' ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων, εἰ μισθὸν προσλήψοιντο, εὕρημα ἐδόκει
14 εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπιψηφιῶ[2] ταῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα.

[1] μόνους. ὄντων δ' ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων, εἰ Gem., following Cobet: μόνους, ὄντων ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων.εἰ δὲ MSS., Mar.

[2] ἐπιψηφιῶ Mar., following Rehdantz: ἐπιψηφιζέσθω (or ἐπιψηφιζέτω) MSS., Gem.

noon, the soldiers gathered together and Seuthes spoke as follows: "I ask you, soldiers, to take the field with me, and I promise to give to you who are in the ranks a Cyzicene and to the captains and generals the customary pay; besides this, I shall honour the man who deserves it. Food and drink you will obtain, just as to-day, by taking from the country; but whatever may be captured I shall expect to retain for myself, so that by selling it I may provide you your pay. All that flees and hides we shall ourselves be able to pursue and seek out; but if any one offers resistance, with your help we shall try to subdue him." Xenophon asked, "And how far from the seacoast shall you expect the army to follow you?" He replied, "Nowhere more than a seven days' journey, and in many places less."

After this the opportunity to speak was offered to any one who desired it; and many spoke to the same effect, saying that Seuthes' proposals were most valuable; for the season was winter, and it was impossible to sail back home, if that was what one wished, and impossible also to get along in a friendly country if they had to maintain themselves by purchasing; on the other hand, to spend their time and get their maintenance in a hostile country was a safer proceeding in Seuthes' company than if they were alone. And if, above and beyond such important advantages, they were also to receive pay, they counted it a godsend. After that Xenophon said: "If any one holds a contrary opinion, let him speak; if not, I will put this question to vote." And as no one spoke in opposition, he put the matter to vote, and this plan was decided upon.

εὐθὺς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπεν, ὅτι συστρατεύσοιντο
αὐτῷ.
15 Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκή-
νησαν, στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον
16 Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλησίον κώμην ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες, ἦν τις
Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνείτης· οὗτος προσιὼν ἑνὶ ἑκά-
στῳ οὕστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον
μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἳ παρῆσαν φιλίαν
διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασι-
λέα καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί,
ἔλεγεν ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω εἴη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν
ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν, Σεύθης δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ στράτευμα
17 τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. γεί-
των οὖν ὢν ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ καὶ
κακῶς ποιεῖν. ἢν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε
ὅ τι ἂν ἄγητε· καὶ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται ἢ
ἐὰν Μηδόκῳ τῷ πρόσω οἰκοῦντι διδῶτε. τούτους
18 μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπειθεν. αὖθις δὲ Τιμασίωνι τῷ
Δαρδανεῖ προσελθών, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτῷ εἶναι
καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικάς, ἔλεγεν
ὅτι νομίζοιτο ὁπότε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσαι ὁ Σεύθης
δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέντας. οὗτος δ' ἢν
μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε καὶ οἴκαδε
καταγαγεῖν καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι. τοι-
19 αῦτα προυμνᾶτο ἑκάστῳ προσιών. προσελθὼν
δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλεγε· Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγί-

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[1] A Greek city in Thrace.
[2] Through the mediation of Seuthes; *cp.* ii. 32–4.
[3] Timasion was an exile (v. vi. 23).

So he told Seuthes at once that they would take service with him.

After this the troops went into camp by divisions, but the generals and captains were invited to dinner by Seuthes in a village he was occupying near by. When they had reached his doors and were about to go in to dinner, there stood a certain Heracleides, of Maroneia;[1] this fellow came up to each single one of the guests who, as he imagined, were able to make a present to Seuthes, first of all to some people of Parium who had come to arrange[2] a friendship with Medocus, the king of the Odrysians, and brought gifts with them for him and his wife; to them Heracleides said that Medocus was a twelve days' journey inland from the sea, while Seuthes, now that he had got this army, would be master upon the coast. "He, therefore," Heracleides went on, "being your neighbour, will be best able to do you good or harm. Hence if you are wise, you will present to him whatever you bring with you; and it will be better for you than if you make your gifts to Medocus, who dwells far away." It was in this way that he tried to persuade these people. Next he came up to Timasion the Dardanian,—for he heard that he had some Persian drinking cups and carpets,—and said that it was customary when Seuthes invited people to dinner, for those who were thus invited to give him presents. "And," he continued, "in case this Seuthes becomes a great man in this region, he will be able either to restore you to your home[3] or to make you rich here." Such were the solicitations he used as he went to one man after another. He came up to Xenophon also, and said to him: "You are a citizen of a very great state

*στης εἶ καὶ παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν
ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ
τείχη λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων
ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλο-
20 πρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. εὔνους δέ σοι ὢν
παραινῶ· εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν μείζω τούτῳ
δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζω ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ.
ἀκούων ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἠπόρει· οὐ γὰρ διεβεβήκει
ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ ὅσον ἐφόδιον.*

21 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θρᾳκῶν
οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν παρόντων καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ
οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία
παρῆν ἀπὸ πόλεως, τὸ δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένοις
κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν·
οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων, καὶ
ἄρτοι ζυμῖται μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν
22 πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ
τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν — καὶ
πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύθης, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τοὺς
ἑαυτῷ παρακειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὸν
καὶ ἐρρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ τὰ κρέα ὡσαύ-
τως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπών.
23 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐποίουν καθ' οὓς αἱ
τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα,
φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἴα χαίρειν,
λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον
24 καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει. κέρατα*

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[1] Especially Alcibiades (*Hell.* I. v. 17, Nepos, *Alc.* 7).

and your name is a very great one with Seuthes; perhaps you will expect to obtain fortresses in this land, as others among your countrymen have done,[1] and territory; it is proper, therefore, for you to honour Seuthes in the most magnificent way. It is out of good-will to you that I give this advice; for I am quite sure that the greater the gifts you bestow upon this man, the greater the favours that you will receive at his hands." Upon hearing this Xenophon was dismayed; for he had come across from Parium with nothing but a boy and money enough for his travelling expenses.

When they had come in for the dinner—the noblest of the Thracians who were present, the generals and the captains of the Greeks, and whatever embassy from any state was there—the dinner was served with the guests seated in a circle; then three-legged tables were brought in for the whole company; these were full of meat, cut up into pieces, and there were great loaves of leavened bread fastened with skewers to the pieces of meat. In general the tables were placed opposite the strangers in each case; for the Thracians had a custom which Seuthes now took the lead in practising,—he would pick up the loaves which lay beside him, break them into small pieces, and throw the pieces to whomever he pleased, following the same fashion with the meat also, and leaving himself only enough for a mere taste. Then the others also who had tables placed opposite them, set about doing the same thing. But a certain Arcadian named Arystas, a terrible eater, would have none of this throwing about, but took in his hand a loaf as big as a three-quart measure, put some pieces of meat upon his knees, and pro-

δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ'
Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ
οἰνοχόος ἧκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι
δειπνοῦντα, Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη,
25 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω. ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν φωνὴν
ἠρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγει. ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν·
ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως
ἐγένετο.

26 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ
Θρᾷξ ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ λαβὼν κέρας με-
στὸν εἶπε· Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον
τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς
αἱρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσῃς τὸν πολέ-
27 μιον. ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσάγων οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο
προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. καὶ
Τιμασίων προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυ-
28 ρᾶν καὶ τάπιδα ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. Γνήσιππος
δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη
νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βα-
σιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν
βασιλέα, ἵνα καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἔχω σοι δωρεῖσθαι καὶ
29 τιμᾶν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο τί ποιήσει· καὶ
γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὡς τιμώμενος ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ
δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέ-
λευεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἰνοχόον. ὁ δὲ
Ξενοφῶν, ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκὼς ἐτύγχανεν, ἀνέστη
30 θαρραλέως δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ

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[1] See note on I. iv. 13.

ceeded to dine. They carried round horns of wine, and all took them; but Arystas, when the cupbearer came and brought him his horn, said to the man, after observing that Xenophon had finished his dinner, "Give it to him; for he's already at leisure, but I'm not as yet." When Seuthes heard the sound of his voice, he asked the cupbearer what he was saying. And the cupbearer, who understood Greek, told him. So then there was an outburst of laughter.

When the drinking was well under way, there came in a Thracian with a white horse, and taking a full horn he said: "I drink your health, Seuthes, and present to you this horse; on his back pursuing you shall catch whomever you choose, and retreating you shall not fear the enemy." Another brought in a boy and presented him in the same way, with a health to Seuthes, while another presented clothes for his wife. Timasion also drank his health and presented to him a silver bowl and a carpet worth ten minas.[1] Then one Gnesippus, an Athenian, arose and said that it was an ancient and most excellent custom that those who had possessions should give to the king for honour's sake, and that to those who had nought the king should give, "that so," he continued, "I too may be able to bestow gifts upon you and do you honour." As for Xenophon, he was at a loss to know what he should do; for he chanced, as one held in honour, to be seated on the stool nearest to Seuthes. And Heracleides directed the cupbearer to proffer him the horn. Then Xenophon, who already as it happened had been drinking a little, arose courageously after taking the horn and said: "And I, Seuthes,

δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
τούτους ἑταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστούς, καὶ οὐδένα
ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοι βου-
31 λομένους φίλους εἶναι. καὶ νῦν πάρεισιν οὐδέν σε
προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προϊέμενοι καὶ πονεῖν
ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ' ὧν,
ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπο-
λήψῃ πατρῴαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ, πολλοὺς
δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καλὰς
κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ λῄζεσθαί σε δεήσει, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φέ-
32 ροντες παρέσονται πρὸς σὲ δῶρα. ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύ-
θης συνεξέπιε καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ' αὐτοῦ
τὸ κέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἵοις
σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοείαις
33 ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἷον μαγάδιδι σαλπίζοντες. καὶ
αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν
καὶ ἐξήλατο ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος μάλα
ἐλαφρῶς. εἰσῇσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.
34 Ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ
Ἕλληνες καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθι-
στάναι καὶ σύνθημα παραδιδόναι. καὶ Σεύθην
ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι ὅπως εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν εἴσεισι νυκτός·
οἵ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θρᾷκες καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φίλοι.
35 ὡς δ' ἐξῇσαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης οὐδέν τι μεθύ-
οντι ἐοικώς. ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς ἀποκαλέσας· Ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν

[1] The reference is to the Thracian custom, known to us through Suidas, of sprinkling the last drops that remained in the drinking horn upon one's fellow guests.

give you myself and these my comrades to be your faithful friends; and not one of them do I give against his will, but all are even more desirous than I of being your friends. And now they are here, asking you for nothing more, but rather putting themselves in your hands and willing to endure toil and danger on your behalf. With them, if the gods so will, you will acquire great territory, recovering all that belonged to your fathers and gaining yet more, and you will acquire many horses, and many men and fair women; and these things you will not need to take as plunder, but my comrades of their own accord shall bring them before you as gifts." Up rose Seuthes, drained the horn with Xenophon, and joined him in sprinkling the last drops.[1] After this there came in musicians blowing upon horns such as they use in giving signals, and playing upon trumpets of raw ox-hide not only measured notes, but music like that of a harp. And Seuthes himself got up, raised a war-cry, and sprang aside very nimbly, as though avoiding a missile. There entered also a company of buffoons.

When the sun was about setting, the Greeks arose and said that it was time to post sentinels and give out the watchword. They also urged Seuthes to issue an order that none of the Thracians were to enter the Greek camp by night; "for," they said, "our enemies are Thracians and our friends are yourselves."[2] As the Greeks were setting forth, Seuthes arose with them, not in the least like a drunken man. And after coming out he called the generals aside by themselves and said: "Gentlemen,

[2] *viz.* Thracians also; in other words, the Greeks could not tell whether an individual Thracian was friend or foe.

οὐκ ἴσασί πω τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἢν οὖν
ἔλθωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι ὥστε μὴ
ληφθῆναι ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι,
μάλιστ᾽ ἂν λάβοιμεν καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα.
36 συνεπῄνουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέ-
λευον. ὁ δ᾽ εἶπε· Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμένετε·
ἐγὼ δὲ ὁπόταν καιρὸς ᾖ ἥξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς
πελταστὰς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγήσομαι σὺν
37 τοῖς ἵπποις.[1] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Σκέψαι τοί-
νυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς
νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
πορείαις ἡγεῖται τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁποῖον ἂν ἀεὶ
πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρῃ, ἐάν τε ὁπλιτικὸν ἐάν
τε πελταστικὸν ἐάν τε ἱππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεῖσθαί ἐστι τὸ βραδύτατον·
38 οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ
ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους·
οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν
ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πά-
39 σχουσιν. εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· Ὀρθῶς λέγετε καὶ
ἐγὼ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν
ἡγεμόνας δώσω τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειρο-
τάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος
τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέῃ,
παρέσομαι. σύνθημα δ᾽ εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ
τὴν συγγένειαν. ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο.
40 Ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἦν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, παρῆν Σεύθης
ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τοὺς

[1] ἵπποις Gem., following Hirschig: θεοῖς MSS., Mar.

[1] Which are necessary now that the Greeks, whose hoplites form "the slowest arm," are to lead the way.

our enemies do not yet know of our alliance; therefore if we go against them before they have got on guard against being captured or have made preparations to defend themselves, we should most surely get both captives and property." The generals agreed in approving this plan, and bade him lead on. And he said: "Get yourselves ready and wait; and when the proper time comes, I will return to you and, picking up my peltasts and yourselves, will lead the way with my horsemen." And Xenophon said: "Well, now, consider this point, whether, if we are to make a night march, the Greek practice is not the better: in our marches by day, you know, that part of the army takes the lead which is suited to the nature of the ground in each case, whether it be hoplites or peltasts or cavalry; but by night it is the practice of the Greeks that the slowest arm should lead the way; for thus the various parts of the army are least likely to become separated, and men are least likely to drop away from one another without knowing it; and it often happens that scattered divisions fall in with one another and in their ignorance inflict and suffer harm." Then Seuthes replied: "You are right, and I will adopt your practice. I will give you guides[1] from among the oldest men, who know the country best, and I myself will bring up the rear with my horsemen; for I can speedily reach the front if need be." Then they gave out "Athena" as the watchword, on account of their kinship.[2] After this conference they went to rest.

When it was about midnight, Seuthes was at hand with his horsemen armed with breast-plates

[2] *cp.* ii. 31.

πελταστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἵποντο, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν.
41 ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐπῄνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον. πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος ἀποσπασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δ' ὥσπερ δεῖ ἀθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε, ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός τι ἥξω. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδόν τινα
42 λαβών. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκέψατο εἰ εἴη ἴχνη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα ἢ ἐναντία. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῆ ἑώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἧκε
43 ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται, ἢν θεὸς θέλῃ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις, ὅπως ἄν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγὼν σημήνῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἕπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῆτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἕπεσθε. ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἥξομεν εἰς κώμας πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας.

44 Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας ἧκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. ἀλλ' ἕπεσθε ὡς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως ἐάν τις ὑφιστῆται, ἀλέξησθε.

and his peltasts equipped with their arms. And as soon as he had given over their guides to the Greeks, the hoplites took the lead, the peltasts followed, and the horsemen brought up the rear. When day came, Seuthes rode along to the front and expressed his approval of the Greek practice. For many times, he said, while marching by night with even a small force he himself, along with his cavalry, had got separated from his infantry; "but now," he continued, "we find ourselves at daybreak all together, just as we should be. But do you wait where you are and take a rest, and I will return after I have looked around a little." With these words he rode off along a mountain side, following a kind of road. When he had reached a place where there was deep snow, he looked about to see whether there were human footprints, either leading onward or back. As soon as he saw that the road was untrodden, he quickly returned and said: "All will be well, gentlemen, if god will; for we shall fall upon these people before they know it. Now I will lead the way with the cavalry, so that if we catch sight of any one, he may not slip through our fingers and give word to the enemy; and do you follow after me, and in case you get left behind, keep to the trail of the horses. Once we have crossed over the mountains, we shall come to many prosperous villages."

By the time it was midday he was already upon the heights, and catching sight of the villages below he came riding up to the hoplites and said: "Now I am going to let the horsemen charge down to the plain on the run, and to send the peltasts against the villages. Do you, then, follow as fast as you can, so that if any resistance is offered, you may

45 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου.
καὶ ὃς ἤρετο· Τί καταβαίνεις, ἐπεὶ σπεύδειν δεῖ;
Οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέῃ· οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται
θᾶττον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἥδιον, ἐὰν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς
46 ἡγῶμαι. μετὰ ταῦτα ᾤχετο, καὶ Τιμασίων μετ'
αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα
ἔτη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. καὶ
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαζε τούτους ἔχων, Κλεάνωρ δ'
47 ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἦσαν,
Σεύθης ἔχων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἱππέας προσελάσας
εἶπε· Τάδε δή, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται
οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρημοι οἱ ἱππεῖς οἴχονταί
μοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διώκων, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ συστάντες
ἁθρόοι που κακόν τι ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. δεῖ
δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν·
48 μεσταὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη
ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψομαι·
σὺ δὲ Κλεάνορα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι
τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας. ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν εἰς χίλια,
βόες δὲ δισχίλιοι, πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια. τότε
μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ηὐλίσθησαν.

IV. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς καὶ οἰκίαν οὐδεμίαν λιπών, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθείη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷα πείσονται, ἂν

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[1] See §§ 37, 38 above. Seuthes has again (*cp.* § 41) gone ahead with his fastest arm (his cavalry), and now appreciates the danger of having them unsupported (*cp.* ἔρημοι below) by infantry.

meet it." Upon hearing these words Xenophon dismounted from his horse. And Seuthes asked: "Why do you dismount, for there is need of haste?" "I know," Xenophon replied, "that I am not the only one you need; and the hoplites will run faster and more cheerfully if I also am on foot leading the way." After this Seuthes went off, and with him Timasion at the head of about forty horsemen of the Greeks. Then Xenophon gave orders that the active men up to thirty years of age should move up from their several companies to the front. So he himself ran along with them, while Cleanor led the rest. When they had reached the villages, Seuthes with about thirty horsemen rode up to him and said: "Here's the very thing, Xenophon, that you were saying;[1] these fellows are caught, but unhappily my horsemen have gone off unsupported, scattering in their pursuit, and I fear that the enemy may get together somewhere in a body and work some harm. On the other hand, some of us also must remain in the villages, for they are full of people." "Well," Xenophon replied, "I myself with the troops I have will seize the heights, and do you direct Cleanor to extend his line through the plain alongside the villages." When they had done these things, there were gathered together captives to the number of a thousand, two thousand cattle, and ten thousand smaller animals besides. Then they bivouacked where they were.

IV. On the following day, after Seuthes had burned up the villages completely and left not a single house, in order that he might inspire the rest of his enemies also with fear of the sort of fate they would suffer if they did not yield him

2 μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπῄει πάλιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν
ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον,
ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς
δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ
Θυνῶν πεδίον· οἱ δ' ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ
3 ὄρη. ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλὴ καὶ ψῦχος οὕτως ὥστε τὸ
ὕδωρ ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐπήγνυτο καὶ ὁ οἶνος
ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ
4 ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὦτα. καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο
οὗ ἕνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς ἀλωπεκᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφα-
λαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον
περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ
ζειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν,
5 ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας. ἀφιεὶς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
ὁ Σεύθης εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται
οἰκήσοντες καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ
τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται
τῷ λιμῷ. ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ
παῖδες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς
6 ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμαις ηὐλίζοντο. καὶ ὁ Σεύθης
καταμαθὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπισπέσθαι. καὶ
ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν
εἰς τὰς κώμας. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐξέφυγον·
πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε κατη-
κόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης.
7 Ἐπισθένης δ' ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος παιδεραστής,
ὃς ἰδὼν παῖδα καλὸν ἡβάσκοντα ἄρτι πέλτην
ἔχοντα μέλλοντα ἀποθνῄσκειν, προσδραμὼν

obedience, he went back again. Then he dispatched Heracleides to Perinthus to sell the booty, so that he might get money to pay the soldiers with; while he himself and the Greeks encamped on the plain of the Thynians, the inhabitants abandoning their homes and fleeing to the mountains. There was deep snow on the plain, and it was so cold that the water which they carried in for dinner and the wine in the jars would freeze, and many of the Greeks had their noses and ears frost-bitten. Then it became clear why the Thracians wear fox-skin caps on their heads and over their ears, and tunics not merely about their chests, but also round their thighs, and why, when on horseback, they wear long cloaks reaching to their feet instead of mantles. And now Seuthes allowed some of his captives to go off to the mountains with word that if the Thynians did not come down to the plain to live and did not yield him obedience, he would burn up their villages also and their corn, and they would perish with hunger. Thereupon the women, children, and older men did come down, but the younger men bivouacked in the villages under the mountain. And Seuthes, upon learning of this, ordered Xenophon to take the youngest of the hoplites and follow him. So they arose during the night, and at daybreak reached the villages. Now most of the villagers made their escape, for the mountain was close at hand; but all that he did capture, Seuthes shot down unsparingly.

There was a certain Episthenes of Olynthus who was a lover of boys, and upon seeing a handsome boy, just in the bloom of youth and carrying a light shield, on the point of being put to death, he ran

8 Ξενοφῶντα ἱκέτευε βοηθῆσαι παιδὶ καλῷ. καὶ
ὃς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ δεῖται μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν
παῖδα, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένους διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον,
καὶ ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ συνελέξατο σκοπῶν οὐδὲν
ἄλλο ἢ εἴ τινες εἶεν καλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν
9 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο· Ἦ καὶ θέλοις
ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενες, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν; ὁ δ'
ὑπερανατείνας τὸν τράχηλον, Παῖε, ἔφη, εἰ κελεύει
10 ὁ παῖς καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι. ἐπήρετο ὁ
Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα εἰ παίσειεν αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου.
οὐκ εἴα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἱκέτευε μηδέτερον κατα-
καίνειν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἐπισθένης περιβαλὼν τὸν
παῖδα εἶπεν· Ὥρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, περὶ τοῦδέ μοι
11 διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ
Σεύθης γελῶν ταῦτα μὲν εἴα· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ
αὐλισθῆναι, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ
τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοιντο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
ὑποκαταβὰς ἐσκήνου, ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων τοὺς
ἐπιλέκτους ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτω κώμῃ, καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις
Θραξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.
12 Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι τ' οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο καὶ
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θρᾷκες καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν
Σεύθην περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ὁμήρων διεπράττοντο.
καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι ἐν
πονηροῖς σκηνοῖεν καὶ πλησίον εἶεν οἱ πολέμιοι·
ἥδιόν τ' ἂν ἔξω αὐλίζεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ δὲ

[1] Supplies from the villages in the plain having already been cut off (§ 5).

up to Xenophon and besought him to come to the rescue of a handsome lad. So Xenophon went to Seuthes and begged him not to kill the boy, telling him of Episthenes' turn of mind, how he had once assembled a battalion with an eye to nothing else save the question whether a man was handsome, and that with this battalion he proved himself a brave man. And Seuthes asked: "Would you even be willing, Episthenes, to die for this boy's sake?" Then Episthenes stretched out his neck and said, "Strike, if the lad bids you and will be grateful." Seuthes asked the boy whether he should strike Episthenes in his stead. The boy forbade it, and besought him not to slay either. Thereupon Episthenes threw his arms around the boy and said: "It is time, Seuthes, for you to fight it out with me for this boy; for I shall not give him up." And Seuthes laughed and let the matter go. He resolved, however, to establish a camp where they were, in order that the people on the mountain should not be supplied with food from these villages, either.[1] So he himself went quietly down the mountain and encamped upon the plain, while Xenophon with his picked men took quarters in the uppermost village below the summit and the rest of the Greeks close by, among the so-called "mountain" Thracians.

Not many days had passed after this when the Thracians on the mountain came down and entered into negotiations with Seuthes in regard to a truce and hostages. And Xenophon came and told Seuthes that his men were in bad quarters and the enemy were close at hand; he would be better pleased, he said, to bivouac in the open in a strong position than to be in the houses and run the risk of being

θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας
13 αὐτῶν. ἐδέοντο δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντές τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους συμπρᾶξαι σφίσι τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ δ᾽ ὡμολόγει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἠγγυᾶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.

14 Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. καὶ ἡγεμὼν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἑκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περιεσταύρωντο μεγάλοις
15 σταυροῖς τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἑκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσηκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν ὡς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δ᾽ ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνῄσκειν,
16 ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν κατακαυθήσεσθαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες, καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος ἐτῶν ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι
17 τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς,

destroyed. But Seuthes bade him have no fear and showed him hostages that had come from the enemy. Meanwhile some of the people on the mountain came down and actually requested Xenophon himself to help them obtain the truce. He agreed to do so, told them to have no fear, and gave them his word that they would suffer no harm if they were obedient to Seuthes. But they, as it proved, were talking about this matter merely in order to spy out the situation.

All this happened during the day, but in the night that followed the Thynians issued from the mountain and made an attack. And the master of each separate house acted as guide to that house; for in the darkness it would have been difficult to find the houses in these villages in any other way; for each house was surrounded by a paling, made of great stakes, to keep in the cattle. When they had reached the doors of a particular house, some would throw in javelins, others would lay on with their clubs, which they carried, so it was said, to knock off the heads of hostile spears, and still others would be setting the house on fire, meanwhile calling Xenophon by name and bidding him come out and be killed, or else, they said, he would be burned up then and there. And now fire was already showing through the roof, and Xenophon and his men inside the house had equipped themselves with breastplates and were furnished with shields and swords and helmets, when Silanus the Macistian, a lad of about eighteen years, gave a signal with the trumpet; and on the instant they leaped forth with swords drawn, and so did the Greeks from the other houses. Then the Thracians took to flight, swinging their shields

ὄπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἁμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων·
18 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἔξω τῆς κώμης. τῶν δὲ Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ᾿ οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἐπιταλιέα[1] λοχαγὸν καὶ Θεογένην Λοκρὸν λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδείς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ
19 ἐσθής τινων καὶ σκεύη. Σεύθης δὲ ἧκε βοηθῶν σὺν ἑπτὰ ἱππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θρᾴκιον. καὶ ἐπείπερ ᾔσθετο, ὅσονπερ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δ᾿ ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιοῦτό τε καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἴοιτο τεθνεῶτας πολλοὺς εὑρήσειν.

20 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται,
21 συστρατεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι. τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παραδίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἤδη, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρεινῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνάμει. ἤδη δὲ εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἀκούοντες ἃ πράττει ὁ Σεύθης πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσό-
22 μενοι. οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους

[1] Ἐπιταλιέα Schenkl: καὶ εὐοδέα MSS., which Mar. regards as corrupt: Εὐβοέα Gem., following Ullrich.

around behind them, as was their custom; and some of them who tried to jump over the palings were captured hanging in the air, with their shields caught in the stakes, while others missed the ways that led out and were killed; and the Greeks continued the pursuit till they were outside the village. Some of the Thynians, however, turned about in the darkness and hurled javelins at men who were running along past a burning house, throwing out of the darkness toward the light; and they wounded Hieronymus the Epitalian, a captain, and Theogenes the Locrian, also a captain; no one, however, was killed, but some men had clothes and baggage burned up. Meanwhile, Seuthes came to their aid with seven horsemen of his front line and his Thracian trumpeter. And from the instant he learned of the trouble, through all the time that he was hurrying to the rescue, every moment his horn was kept sounding; the result was, that this also helped to inspire fear in the enemy. When he did arrive, he clasped their hands and said that he had supposed he should find many of them slain.

After this Xenophon asked Seuthes to give over the hostages to him and to join him on an expedition to the mountain, if he so pleased; otherwise, to let him go by himself. On the next day, accordingly, Seuthes gave over the hostages—men already elderly and the most powerful, so it was said, of the mountaineers—and came himself with his troops. Now by this time Seuthes had a force quite three times as large as before; for many of the Odrysians, hearing what success Seuthes was enjoying, came down from the upper country to take service with him. And when the Thynians saw from their mountain

πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας, καταβάντες ἱκέτευον σπείσασθαι, καὶ πάντα ὡμολόγουν ποιήσειν καὶ πιστὰ
23 λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ Σεύθης καλέσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεδείκνυεν ἃ λέγοιεν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρήσασθαι
24 αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οὗτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων. συμβουλεύειν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἐᾶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.

V. Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύ-
2 σου. καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν. καὶ Σεύθης ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείω, τὰ δ' ἄλλα βοεικά, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευε λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διανεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς.
3 Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὖθις λαβεῖν· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ οἳ
4 σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠκολούθησαν καὶ λοχαγοῖς. καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἓν μὲν Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεύς, ἓν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἓν δὲ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιός· τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατεμερίσθη. τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ἐξεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνὸς εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ

[1] See on i. 33.

masses of hoplites, masses of peltasts, and troops of horsemen, they descended and besought him to grant them a truce, agreeing to do anything and everything and urging him to receive pledges. Thereupon Seuthes summoned Xenophon, disclosed to him the proposals they were making, and said that he should not grant them a truce if Xenophon wanted to punish them for their attack. And Xenophon said: "Why, for my part I think I have abundant satisfaction as it is, if these people are to be slaves instead of free men." He added, however, that he advised Seuthes to take as hostages in the future those who were most capable of doing harm and to leave the old men at home. Thus it was that all the people in this region surrendered.

V. And now they crossed over to the country of the Thracians above Byzantium, in the so-called Delta;[1] this was beyond the domain of Maesades, being the land of Teres the Odrysian. There Heracleides presented himself, with the proceeds from the sale of the booty. And Seuthes, leading forth three pairs of mules—for there were no more than three—and the yokes of oxen besides, called Xenophon and bade him take for himself and then distribute the rest among the generals and captains. Xenophon replied: "Well, for my part I am content to get something at a later time; give rather to these generals and captains who have followed with me." So one of the mule teams was given to Timasion the Dardanian, one to Cleanor the Orchomenian, and one to Phryniscus the Achaean, while the yokes of oxen were distributed among the captains. Seuthes also paid over the wages of the troops, but for twenty days only of the month that had now passed; for

5 Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐ πλέον ἐμπολῆσαι. ὁ
οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπομόσας· Δοκεῖς
μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐχ ὡς δεῖ κήδεσθαι Σεύθου·
εἰ γὰρ ἐκήδου, ἧκες ἂν φέρων πλήρη τὸν μισθὸν
καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ
ἀποδόμενος τὰ σαυτοῦ ἱμάτια.

6 Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε καὶ ἔδεισε
μὴ ἐκ τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθείη, καὶ ὅ τι
ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα
7 διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται
Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸν μισθόν·
Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐντόνως τοῖς στρατι-
8 ώταις ἀπῄτει τὸν μισθόν. καὶ τέως μὲν αἰεὶ
ἐμέμνητο ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλθῃ, παρα-
δώσει αὐτῷ Βισάνθην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Νέον τεῖχος·
ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων
ἐμέμνητο. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο διεβε-
βλήκει ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἴη τείχη παραδιδόναι
ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι.

9 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο τί χρὴ
ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ'
Ἡρακλείδης εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς
πρὸς Σεύθην λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν
ἂν ἧττον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ξενοφῶν,
τόν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων
ἡμερῶν ἔκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ
10 συστρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων εἶπεν·
Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς

Heracleides said that he had not obtained any more than that from his sale. Xenophon was angered at this, and said to him with an oath: "It seems to me, Heracleides, that you are not caring for Seuthes' interest as you should; for if you were, you would have brought back with you our wages in full, even if you had to borrow something, in case you could not do it in any other way, or to sell your own clothes."

This made Heracleides not only angry, but fearful that he might be banished from the favour of Seuthes, and from that day he slandered Xenophon before Seuthes to the best of his ability. As for the soldiers, they held Xenophon to blame for their not having received their pay; and Seuthes, on the other hand, was angry with him because he was insistent in demanding their pay for the soldiers. Hitherto, he had continually been mentioning the fact that upon his return to the coast he was going to give Xenophon Bisanthe and Ganos and Neonteichos, but from this time he did not allude to a single one of these places again. For Heracleides had put in this slanderous suggestion with the rest, that it was not safe to be giving over fortresses to a man who had a force of troops.

Hereupon Xenophon began to consider what it was best to do about continuing the march still farther inland; Heracleides, on the other hand, took the rest of the generals in to visit Seuthes and bade them say that they could lead the army just as well as Xenophon, while at the same time he promised them that within a few days they would have their pay in full for two months and urged them to continue the campaign with Seuthes. And Timasion said: "Well, so far as I am concerned, I

μέλλῃ εἶναι στρατευσαίμην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος. καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ Κλεάνωρ συνωμολόγουν
11 τῷ Τιμασίωνι. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Σεύθης ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὅτι οὐ παρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μόνον. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν ὅτι βούλοιτο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τούς τε στρατηγοὺς
12 πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλαὶ ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ
13 πάμπολυ τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας ὁρισάμενοι τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι λῄζονται· τέως δὲ ἔλεγον πρὶν ὁρίσασθαι ἁρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ᾽ ἀλ-
14 λήλων ἀποθνῄσκειν. ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκοντο πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τἆλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν
15 ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῇσαν πάλιν. ἔνθα δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στράτευμα ἤδη πλέον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ἔκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους κατεβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πειθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. κατηυλίσθησαν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυμβρίας ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες

shall undertake no campaign without Xenophon even if there is going to be five months' pay." And Phryniscus and Cleanor agreed with Timasion. Thereupon Seuthes fell to abusing Heracleides because he had not invited Xenophon in also. The upshot of this was, that they invited Xenophon by himself. And he, comprehending the rascality of Heracleides, in wanting to make him an object of suspicion to the other generals, brought with him when he came all the generals and the captains. When all of them had been prevailed upon, they continued the march with Seuthes, and, keeping the Pontus upon the right through the country of the millet-eating Thracians, as they are called, arrived at Salmydessus. Here many vessels sailing to the Pontus run aground and are wrecked; for there are shoals that extend far and wide. And the Thracians who dwell on this coast have boundary stones set up and each group of them plunder the ships that are wrecked within their own limits; but in earlier days, before they fixed the boundaries, it was said that in the course of their plundering many of them used to be killed by one another. Here there were found great numbers of beds and boxes, quantities of written books, and an abundance of all the other articles that shipowners carry in wooden chests. After subduing the country in this neighbourhood they set out upon their return. By that time Seuthes had an army larger than the Greek army; for more and still more of the Odrysians had come down from the interior, and the peoples that from time to time were reduced to obedience would join in the campaign. And they went into camp on the plain above Selymbria, at a distance of about thirty stadia from the coast. As

16 τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδείς πω ἐφαί-
νετο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἵ τε στρατιῶται
παγχαλέπως εἶχον ὅ τε Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως
διέκειτο, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότε συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ βουλόμενος
ἔλθοι, πολλαὶ ἤδη ἀσχολίαι ἐφαίνοντο.

VI. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μη-
νῶν ὄντων ἀφικνεῖται Χαρμῖνός τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ
Πολύνικος παρὰ Θίβρωνος, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι
Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρ-
νην, καὶ Θίβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὡς πολεμήσων, καὶ
δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς
ἑκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς
διμοιρία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία.

2 Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρα-
κλείδης πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἥκουσι
λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι κάλλιστόν τι γεγένηται· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέονται τοῦ στρατεύματος,
σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέῃ· ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα
χαριῇ αὐτοῖς, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσουσι τὸν
3 μισθόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ἀκού-
σας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κελεύει παράγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ
εἶπον ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἥκουσιν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι
το στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος
εἶναι βούλεται, καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια· καὶ
ἐξένιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐκ ἐκάλει,
4 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. ἐρωτώντων
δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη Ξενοφῶν
ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἴη οὐ κακός, φιλο-

for pay, there was none to be seen as yet; and not only did the soldiers entertain very hard feelings toward Xenophon, but Seuthes no longer felt kindly toward him, and whenever Xenophon came and wanted to have a meeting with him, it would straightway be found that he had engagements in abundance.

VI. At this time, when nearly two months had already passed, Charminus the Laconian and Polynicus arrived on a mission from Thibron: they said that the Lacedaemonians had resolved to undertake a campaign against Tissaphernes, that Thibron had set sail to wage the war, and that he wanted this army; also that he said the pay would be a daric per month for every man, twice as much for the captains, and four times as much for the generals.

When the Lacedaemonians arrived, Heracleides learned on the instant that they had come to get the army, and told Seuthes that a most fortunate thing had happened: "The Lacedaemonians want the army, and you no longer want it; by giving up the army you will be doing them a favour, while, on your side, the troops will not go on demanding their pay from you, but will soon be quitting the country." Upon hearing these words Seuthes directed him to introduce the envoys; and when they told him that they had come after the army, he replied that he would deliver it up and that he desired to be their friend and ally; he also invited them to dinner, and entertained them magnificently. Xenophon, however, he did not invite, nor any one of the other generals. When the Lacedaemonians asked what sort of a man Xenophon was, he replied that he was not a bad fellow on the whole, but he was a friend

στρατιώτης δέ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.
καὶ οἳ εἶπον· Ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς
ἄνδρας; καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
5 Ἆρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται τῆς
ἀπαγωγῆς; Ἀλλ' ἢν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης,
συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχησθε τὸν μισθόν, ὀλίγον
ἐκείνῳ προσσχόντες ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν.
6 Πῶς οὖν ἄν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν; Αὔριον
ὑμᾶς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῷ ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐ-
τούς· καὶ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν,
ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται. αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως
ἔληξεν.

7 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς
Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλ-
λέγεται ἡ στρατιά. τὼ δὲ Λάκωνε ἐλεγέτην ὅτι
Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολεμεῖν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ
ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἢν οὖν ἴητε σὺν ἡμῖν, τόν τε
ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει
τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν, λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν, στρα-
8 τηγὸς δὲ τὸ τετραπλοῦν. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνίσταταί τις τῶν
Ἀρκάδων τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατηγορήσων. παρῆν
δὲ καὶ Σεύθης βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τί πραχθήσεται,
9 καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἱστήκει ἔχων ἑρμηνέα· ξυνίει δὲ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα. ἔνθα δὴ λέγει
ὁ Ἀρκάς· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μέν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ
πάλαι ἂν ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν ἡμᾶς
δεῦρο πείσας ἀπήγαγεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν
δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρατευόμενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ

of the soldiers, and on that account things went the worse for him. And they said: "He plays the demagogue, you mean, with the men?" "Exactly that," said Heracleides. "Well," said they, "he won't go so far, will he, as to oppose us in the matter of taking away the army?" "Why," said Heracleides, "if you gather the men together and promise them their pay, they will hurry after you, paying scant heed to him." "How, then," they said, "could we get them together?" "To-morrow morning," Heracleides replied, "we will take you to them; and I know," he continued, "that as soon as they catch sight of you, they will hurry together with all eagerness." So ended this day.

The next day Seuthes and Heracleides conducted the Laconians to the army, and the troops gathered together. And the two Laconians said: "The Lacedaemonians have resolved to make war upon Tissaphernes, the man who wronged you; so if you will come with us, you will punish your enemy and, besides, each one of you will receive a daric a month, each captain twofold, and each general fourfold." The soldiers were delighted to hear these words, and straightway one of the Arcadians got up to accuse Xenophon. Now Seuthes also was present, for he wanted to know what would be done, and was standing within hearing distance along with an interpreter, although he could really understand for himself most of what was said in Greek. Thereupon this Arcadian said: "For our part, Lacedaemonians, we should have been with you a long time ago if Xenophon had not talked us over and led us off to this region, where we have never ceased campaigning, by night or day,

ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους
πόνους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἰδίᾳ πε-
10 πλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν· ὥστε
ἐγὼ μὲν εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα καὶ δόν-
τα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἂν
μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπονημένοις
ἄχθεσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως
καὶ ἄλλος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
11 Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἄνθρωπον ὄντα προσ-
δοκᾶν δεῖ, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν αἰτίας
ἔχω ἐν ᾧ πλείστην προθυμίαν ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ
συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσχημένος. ἀπετρα-
πόμην μέν γε ἤδη οἴκαδε ὡρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν
Δία οὔτοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι, ὡς ὠφελήσων
12 εἴ τι δυναίμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον, Σεύθου τουτουὶ
πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος καὶ πολ-
λὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ πείσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα ποιεῖν,
ὡς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. ἦγον δὲ ὅθεν ᾠόμην
τάχιστ᾽ ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. ταῦτα
γὰρ καὶ βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς
13 ᾔδειν βουλομένους. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐλθὼν
σὺν τριήρεσιν ἐκώλυε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου,
ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βου-
14 λευσαίμεθα ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκού-
οντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος ὑμῖν εἰς
Χερρόνησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου
πείθοντος ἑαυτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέ-

through an awful winter, while he gets the fruits of our toils; for Seuthes has enriched him personally while he defrauds us of our pay; so for myself, if I could see this fellow stoned to death as punishment for having dragged us about as he has done, I should consider that I had my pay and should feel no anger over the toils I have endured." After this speaker another arose and talked in the same way, and then another. After that Xenophon spoke as follows:

"Well, it is true, after all, that a human being must expect anything and everything, seeing that I now find myself blamed by you in a matter where I am conscious—at least, in my own opinion—of having shown the utmost zeal in your behalf. I turned back after I had already set out for home, not —Heaven knows it was not—because I learned that you were prospering, but rather because I heard that you were in difficulties; and I turned back to help you in any way I could. When I had arrived, although Seuthes here sent many messengers to me and made me many promises if only I would persuade you to come to him, I did not try to do that, as you know for yourselves. Instead, I led you to a place from which I thought you could most speedily cross over to Asia; for I believed that this course was the best one for you and I knew it was the one you desired. But when Aristarchus came with his triremes and prevented our sailing across, at that moment—and surely it was exactly the proper step—I gathered you together so that we might consider what we should better do. So you with your own ears heard Aristarchus direct you to march to the Chersonese and you heard Seuthes urge you to take the field with him, and then every man of you spoke

γετε σὺν Σεύθῃ ἰέναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα.
τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἠδίκησα ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἔνθα
15 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει; ἐπεί γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο
Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν,
δικαίως ἄν με καὶ αἰτιῷσθε καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ
πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὢν νῦν
πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως
ὑμᾶς αἱρούμενος ἀντὶ Σεύθου ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν
ἔχοιμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι;
16 Ἀλλ' εἴποιτ' ἂν ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα
ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνάζειν. οὐκοῦν δῆλον
τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ
οὕτως ἐτέλει δήπου ὡς ὧν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στέροιτο
καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτείσειεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου,
ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ[1] ἐδίδου ὅπως ἐμοὶ δοὺς μεῖον μὴ ἀπο-
17 δοίη ὑμῖν τὸ πλέον. εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε,
ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ματαίαν ταύτην τὴν
πρᾶξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράττητε
αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ
ἔχω τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσει με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσει
μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῷ
18 ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδωροδόκουν. ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν
τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὀμνύω γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοὺς ἅπαντας

[1] δὴ Gem., following Cobet: ἂν MSS., Mar.

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[1] *i. e.* by pretending to side with you against Seuthes.

in favour of going with Seuthes and every man of you voted to do so. What wrong, therefore, did I do in that matter, when I led you to the place where you had all decided to go? I come now to the time when Seuthes began to play false with you in the matter of your pay: if I am his supporter in that, it would be just for you to blame me and hate me; but if the truth is that I, who before that was the most friendly to him of us all, am now most of all at variance with him, how can it be just in this case that, when I sided with you rather than with Seuthes, I should be blamed by you about the things in which I am at variance with him?

"But it is possible, you might say, that I really have received from Seuthes the money that belongs to you, and am only tricking you.[1] Then this at least is clear: if Seuthes was in fact paying anything to me, he surely was not paying it with the understanding that he was both to lose whatever he gave me and at the same time was to pay other sums to you, but rather, I presume, if he was giving me anything, he was giving it with this understanding, that by giving a smaller sum to me he was to escape paying over the larger to you. Now if you imagine that this is the case, it is within your power upon the instant to make this transaction a vain one for us both by exacting your money from him. For it is clear that, if I have received anything from Seuthes, he will demand it back from me, and, moreover, he will demand it back with justice if I am failing to fulfil to him the undertaking for which I was accepting his gifts. But it is far from being true, in my opinion, that I have received what belongs to you; for I swear to you by all the gods

καὶ πάσας μηδ' ἃ ἐμοὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδέ
19 μοι εἰ ἐπιορκῶ· ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσητε, συνεπόμνυμι μηδὲ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι.

20 Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν; ᾤμην, ἄνδρες, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον συμφέροιμι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὁπότε δυνασθείη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὁρῶ εὖ πράτ-
21 τοντα καὶ γιγνώσκω δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. εἴποι δή τις ἄν, οὔκουν αἰσχύνῃ οὕτω μώρως ἐξαπατώμενος; ναὶ μὰ Δία ᾐσχυνόμην μέντἄν, εἰ ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε ὄντος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῳ δὲ ὄντι ἐξαπατᾶν αἴσχιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι.
22 ἐπεὶ εἴ γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή, πᾶσαν οἶδα ἡμᾶς φυλαξαμένους ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν τούτῳ πρόφασιν δικαίαν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ἡμῖν ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἠδικήσαμεν τοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου οὐδὲ μὴν κατεδειλιάσαμεν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ὅ τι ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεσεν.

23 Ἀλλά, φαίητε ἄν, ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὡς μηδ' εἰ ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούσατε ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μή μοι παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε εἶναι ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι.
24 ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ἐν ποίοις τισὶ πράγμασιν ὄντες

and goddesses that I have not even received what Seuthes promised to me for my own services; he is present here himself, and as he listens he knows as well as I do whether I am swearing falsely; furthermore, to make your wonder the greater, I swear besides that I have not even received what the other generals have received—nay, not even so much as some of the captains.

"And why, then, did I follow this course? I supposed, soldiers, that the more I helped this man to bear the poverty in which he then was, the more I should make him my friend when he should have gained power. But in fact I no sooner see him enjoying prosperity than I recognize his true character. One might say, 'Are you not ashamed of being so stupidly deceived?' I certainly should be ashamed, by Zeus, if I had been deceived by one who was an enemy; but for one who is a friend, to deceive seems to me more shameful than to be deceived. For if there is such a thing as precaution toward friends, I know that we took every precaution not to afford this man a just pretext for not paying us what he had promised; for we neither did this man any wrong, nor did we mismanage his affairs, nor yet did we shrink like cowards from any service to which he summoned us.

"But, you might say, sureties ought to have been taken at the time, so that he could not have deceived us even if he had wanted to do so. In reply to that, listen to words which I never should have spoken in this man's presence if you had not seemed to me utterly senseless—or at least exceedingly thankless toward me. Recollect in what sort of troubles you then found yourselves, troubles out of which I delivered

ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς
Σεύθην. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον προσῆτε,[1] Ἀρί-
σταρχος δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἴα εἰσιέναι
ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας; ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύετε, μέσος δὲ χειμὼν ἦν, ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρῆσθε
σπάνια μὲν ὁρῶντες τὰ ὤνια, σπάνια δ' ἔχοντες
25 ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε· ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης,
τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυον διαπλεῖν· εἰ
δὲ μένοι τις, ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι, ἔνθα πολλοὶ μὲν
26 ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἐναντίοι, πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί, ἡμῖν
δὲ ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν ᾧ ἀθρόοι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς
κώμας ἴσως ἂν ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδέν
τι ἄφθονον, ὅτῳ δὲ διώκοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ
πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ
ἱππικὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκὸς
κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν.
27 Εἰ οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων ὑμῶν μηδ'
ὁντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας Σεύθην σύμμαχον
ὑμῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχοντα καὶ ἱππέας καὶ πελτα-
στὰς ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε, ἦ κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν
28 ὑμῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; τούτων γὰρ δήπου
κοινωνήσαντες καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κώ-
μαις ηὑρίσκετε διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θρᾷκας
κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν, καὶ προβάτων
29 καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε. καὶ πολέ-
μιον οὐκέτι οὐδένα ἑωρῶμεν ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἡμῖν

[1] After προσῆτε the MSS. have πόλιν, which Mar. brackets: Gem. retains the word, but prefixes τὴν.

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[1] *i. e.* upon his return to the army. Divisions of cavalry and peltasts had existed during the retreat, and it would seem from the present passage that they were not broken up till after Xenophon set sail for Greece (ii. 5, 8).

you when I brought you to Seuthes. Did you not go to Perinthus, and did not Aristarchus the Lacedaemonian forbid your entering and shut the gates against you? So you encamped outside, under the sky, though it was midwinter, and you got your provisions by purchase at a market, though scanty were the supplies you saw offered for sale and scanty the means you had with which to buy; yet you were compelled to remain upon the Thracian coast, for over against you lay triremes that prevented your crossing to Asia; and remaining there, you were of necessity in a hostile country, where there were many horsemen opposed to you and many peltasts; as for ourselves, we had a force of hoplites to be sure, with which, in case we went in a body against the villages, we might perhaps have been able to obtain food, though by no means an abundant supply, but any force with which we could have pursued and captured either slaves or cattle we had not; for I had found[1] no division either of cavalry or of peltasts in existence any longer among you.

"Now when you were in such straits, if I had obtained for you, without demanding into the bargain any pay whatsoever, simply an alliance with Seuthes, who possessed both the cavalry and the peltasts that you were in need of, would you have thought that I had carried through a bad plan on your behalf? For you remember, I imagine, that when you had joined forces with these troops, you not only found food in greater abundance in the villages, for the reason that the Thracians were compelled to flee in greater haste, but you also got a larger share of cattle and captives. In fact, we never saw the face of an enemy again after the cavalry had joined

προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρραλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῷ καὶ πελταστικῷ κωλύοντες μηδαμῇ κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους
30 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δή τι σχέτλιον πάθημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἀνεῖναι;

31 Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο εἴ τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαπανᾶτε. καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες οὔτε ἄνδρας ἐπείδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας
32 οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε. εἰ δέ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σῶον ἔχετε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις νῦν ἄλλην εὔκλειαν προσειλήφατε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾷκας ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσασθε κρατήσαντες; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως ἂν ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὡς ἀγαθῶν.

33 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα τοιαῦτα. ἄγετε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε ὡς ἔχει. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅτε μὲν πρότερον ἀπῇα οἴκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμην, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὔκλειαν. ἐπιστευόμην δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἄν με ἔπεμπον

us, whereas up to that time the enemy had been following boldly at our heels with horsemen and peltasts and had prevented us from scattering in any direction in small parties and thus securing a greater abundance of provisions. And if, then, the man who aided in providing you this security did not give you, besides, very generous pay for your security, is that such a dreadful misfortune? and do you think that on that account you cannot possibly let me go alive?

"As matters stand now, what is your situation in departing from here? Have you not passed the winter amid an abundance of provisions, and, whatever you have received from Seuthes, is it not really so much clear gain? For it was the enemy's possessions that you have been consuming. And while enjoying such fortune, you have not had to see any of your number slain nor have you lost any men alive. And if any glorious deed was earlier performed by you against the barbarians in Asia, have you not at the same time kept that secure and likewise gained other glory besides in the present, by vanquishing, in addition, the Thracians in Europe against whom you took the field? For my part, I assert that for the very acts on account of which you now feel angry toward me, you should, in all justice, feel grateful to the gods, counting them as blessings.

"So much, then, for your situation. And now, in the name of the gods, come, and consider how the case stands with me. At the time when I first set out to return home, I possessed, as I departed, abundant praise in your eyes, and I also possessed, through you, fair fame in the eyes of the Greeks at large. And I was trusted by the Lacedaemonians, for otherwise they would not have sent me back to you again.

34 πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. νῦν δὲ ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἤλπιζον εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παισίν,
35 εἰ γένοιντο, καταθήσεσθαι. ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπήχθημαί τε πλεῖστα καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πω πέπαυμαι ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην ἔχετε γνώμην περὶ ἐμοῦ.

36 Ἀλλ' ἔχετε μέν με οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἢν δὲ ποιήσητε ἃ λέγετε, ἴστε ὅτι ἄνδρα κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος, θεῶν δ' ἵλεων ὄντων καὶ τρόπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμενον, ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολέμιοι γένοισθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινάμενον.
37 καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ ἂν ἕλησθε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅτε πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε ἔνθα δὴ ἐπεθυμεῖτέ πάλαι, δέονταί τε ὑμῶν οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἥκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι
38 ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακαίνειν; οὐ μὴν ὅτε γε ἐν

Now, on the other hand, I am going away traduced by you before the Lacedaemonians and hated on your account by Seuthes, the man through whom I hoped to secure, by rendering him good service with your help, a fair place of refuge for myself and my children, in case children should ever be born to me. And you, for whose sake I have incurred most hatred, and the hatred of men far stronger than I am, for whose sake I have not even to this moment ceased striving to accomplish whatever good I may, hold such an opinion of me as this!

"You hold me in your power, then, and not as a captive that you have taken in flight or as a runaway slave; and if you do what you are proposing, be sure that you will have slain a man who has passed many sleepless nights for your sake, who has endured many toils and dangers with you, both in his turn and out of his turn, who has also, by the graciousness of the gods, set up with you many trophies of victory over the barbarians, and who, in order to prevent your becoming enemies to any one among the Greeks, has exerted himself to the very utmost of his power in opposition to you. In fact, you are now free to journey in security whithersoever you may choose, whether by land or by sea. And you, at the moment when such abundant freedom reveals itself to you, when you are sailing to the very place where you have long been eager to go and the mightiest are suing for your aid, when pay is within sight and the Lacedaemonians, who are deemed the most powerful leaders, have come to lead you—do you, I say, think that now is the proper time to put me to death with all speed? It was not so, surely, in the days when

τοῖς ἀπόροις ἦμεν, ὦ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνῆσθαι ὑπισχνεῖσθε. οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδὲ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἳ νῦν ἧκον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες εἶναι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

39 *Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· Οὐ τὼ σιώ, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὐ δικαίως δοκεῖτε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι. Σεύθης γὰρ ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυνίκου περὶ Ξενοφῶντος τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε μέμψασθαι, ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ χεῖρον αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρὸς*
40 *αὐτοῦ. ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιάτης εἶπεν· Καὶ δοκεῖ γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀναπρᾶξαι ἢ ἑκόντος ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν.*
41 *Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος· Ὁρῶ γε μήν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονήσαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος οὔτε Σεύθῃ ἀπέδωκεν οὔτε ἡμῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαται. ἢν οὖν σωφρονῶμεν, ἑξόμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός γε, ἔφη, Θρᾷξ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' Ἕλλην ὢν Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ.*

we were in straits, O you who remember better than all other men; nay, then you called me 'father,' and you promised to keep me for ever in memory as a benefactor! Not by any means, however, are these men, who have now come after you, wanting in judgment; therefore, I imagine, they also think none the better of you for behaving in this manner towards me." With these words he ceased speaking.

Then Charminus the Lacedaemonian arose and said: "No, by the twin gods; I, at any rate, think you are unjust in being angry with this man; for I can bear witness for him myself. When I and Polynicus asked Seuthes about Xenophon, to learn what sort of a man he was, Seuthes had no fault to find with him save that, as he said, he was 'too great a friend of the soldiers,' and on that account, he added, things went the worse for him, both so far as we the Lacedaemonians were concerned and on his own account." After him Eurylochus of Lusi rose and said: "Yes, and I believe, men of Lacedaemon, that you ought to assume leadership over us in this enterprise first of all, in exacting our pay from Seuthes whether he will or no, and that you should not take us away till that is done." And Polycrates the Athenian said, at the instigation of Xenophon: "Look you, fellow soldiers, I see Heracleides also present here, the man who took in charge the property which we had won by our toil, and then sold it, and did not pay over the proceeds either to Seuthes or to us, but stole the money, and is keeping it for himself. If we are wise, therefore, we shall lay hold of him; for this fellow," said he, "is no Thracian, but a Greek, and yet he is wronging Greeks."

42 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγη· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει· Ἡμεῖς ἢν σωφρονῶμεν, ἄπιμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ᾤχοντο ἀπελαύ-
43 νοντες εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει Ἀβροζέλμην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἑρμηνέα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν καταμεῖναι παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα χιλίους ὁπλίτας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος λέγει ὅτι ἀκήκοε Πολυνίκου ὡς εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται Λακεδαιμονίοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο
44 ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος. ἐπέστελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὡς διαβεβλημένος εἴη καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δέοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πότερά οἱ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει ἢ ἀπιέναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. ἀναιρεῖ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλεῖστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἥξειν. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι αὗται ἦσαν δεδο-
2 μέναι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδοσάδῃ. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκότων καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα ἔρχεται καὶ

[1] See iv. 21, v. 15.

Upon hearing these words Heracleides was exceedingly terrified; and going up to Seuthes, he said: "And if we are wise, we shall go away from here and get out of the power of these fellows." So they mounted their horses and went riding off to their own camp. And after that Seuthes sent Abrozelmes, his interpreter, to Xenophon and urged him to stay behind with him with a force of a thousand hoplites, promising that he would deliver over to him not only the fortresses upon the coast, but also the other things which he had promised. He likewise said, making a great secret of it, that he had heard from Polynicus that if Xenophon should fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, he would certainly be put to death by Thibron. Many other people also sent Xenophon this message, saying that he had been traduced and would better be on his guard. And he, hearing these reports, took two victims and proceeded to offer sacrifice to Zeus the King, to learn whether it was better and more profitable for him to remain with Seuthes on the conditions that Seuthes proposed, or to depart with the army. The god directed him to depart.

VII. After that Seuthes encamped at a greater distance away, while the Greeks took up quarters in villages from which they could secure provisions in greatest abundance before their journey to the coast. Now these villages had been given by Seuthes to Medosades. When, therefore, Medosades saw that the supplies in the villages were being used up by the Greeks, he was angry; and taking with him an Odrysian who was exceedingly powerful, from among those who had come down from the interior,[1] and likewise about thirty horsemen, he came and

προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρα-
τεύματος. καὶ ὃς λαβών τινας τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ
3 ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσέρχεται. ἔνθα δὴ
λέγει Μηδοσάδης· Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμε-
τέρας κώμας πορθοῦντες. προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν,
ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου καὶ ὅδε ἀνὴρ παρὰ Μηδόκου
ἥκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας·
εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ποιῆτε
κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὡς πολεμίους ἀλεξό-
μεθα.
4 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ
σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλε-
πόν· τούτου δ' ἕνεκα τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν' εἰδῇ
5 οἷοί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστε καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ,
ἔφη, πρὶν ὑμῖν φίλοι γενέσθαι ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ
ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἣν μὲν ἐθέλοι-
6 μεν πορθοῦντες, ἣν δὲ θέλοιμεν καίοντες, καὶ σὺ
ὁπότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ηὐλίζου τότε
παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν πολεμίων· ὑμεῖς
δὲ οὐκ ᾖτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ εἴ ποτε ἔλθοιτε,
ὡς ἐν κρειττόνων χώρᾳ ηὐλίζεσθε ἐγκεχαλινωμέ-
7 νοις τοῖς ἵπποις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε
καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν,
νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἣν
παρ' ἡμῶν ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος παρελάβετε·
ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν
8 ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ

summoned Xenophon forth from the Greek camp. So Xenophon took certain of the captains as well as others who were fit men for the purpose, and came to meet him. Then Medosades said: "You Greeks are committing a wrong, Xenophon, in plundering our villages. Therefore we give you public warning, I on behalf of Seuthes, and this man who has come from Medocus, who is king in the interior, to depart from the country; and if you fail to depart, we shall not leave you a free hand, but in case you continue to do harm to our territory, we shall defend ourselves against you as against enemies."

Upon hearing these words Xenophon said: "As for you, when you say such things as these it is painful even to give you an answer; yet for the sake of this young man I will speak, that he may know what sort of people you are and what we are. For we," he went on, "before we became friends of yours, marched whithersoever we chose through this country, plundering where we wished and burning where we wished, and whenever you came to us as envoy, you used then to bivouac with us without fear of any enemy; your people, on the other hand, never came into this country, or if at any time you did come, you would bivouac as in the land of men stronger than yourselves, keeping your horses all bridled. But after you had once become friends of ours and now through us, with the aid of the gods, enjoy possession of this land, you seek to drive us forth, out of this very land that you received from us, who held it by right of strength; for as you know yourself, the enemy were not able to drive us out. And yet, so far from deeming it proper to speed us on our way after bestowing gifts upon us

εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμ-
ψασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ᾽ ἐναυ-
9 λισθῆναι ὅσον δύνασαι ἐπιτρέπεις. καὶ ταῦτα
λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα,
ὃς νῦν μέν σε ὁρᾷ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον
γενέσθαι ἀπὸ λῃστείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς
10 ἔφησθα. ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα;
ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽ ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαγαγεῖν
οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες, ὦ θαυμαστότατοι,
ὅπως ὥσπερ ἀπηχθανόμην αὐτοῖς ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισαίμην νῦν ἀποδιδούς.
11 Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ
μέν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ
τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀκούων ταῦτα. καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν
ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ᾽ ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν
ἄπειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Μήδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς
12 ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. ταῦτ᾽
εἰπὼν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνε καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς πλὴν τεττάρων ἢ πέντε. ὁ
δὲ Μηδοσάδης, ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθου-
μένη, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τὼ Λακε-
13 δαιμονίω. καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους
προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ Πολυνίκῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν
ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης προερῶν ἅπερ αὐτῷ,
14 ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἴομαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς

and doing us kindnesses in return for the benefits you have received at our hands, you will not, so far as you have the power to prevent it, allow us at the moment of our departure even to bivouac in the country. And in uttering these words you are not ashamed either before the gods or before this Odrysian, who now sees you possessed of riches, whereas before you became our friend you got your living, as you said yourself, from pillaging. But really, why do you," he added, "address these words to me? For I am no longer in command, but rather the Lacedaemonians; and it was to them that you yourselves delivered over the army to be led away, and that, you most ill-mannered of men, without so much as inviting me to be present, so that even as I had incurred their hatred at the time when I led the army to you, so I might now win their favour by giving it back."

When the Odrysian heard this, he said: "As for me, Medosades, I sink beneath the earth for shame at this which I hear. If I had understood the matter before, I should not even have accompanied you; and now I am going back. For Medocus, the king, would never commend me if I should drive forth his benefactors." With these words he mounted his horse and rode away, and with him went the horsemen also, except four or five. But Medosades, still distressed by the plundering of the country, urged Xenophon to summon the two Lacedaemonians. And Xenophon, taking with him the best men he had, went to Charminus and Polynicus and said that Medosades was summoning them in order to give them the same warning as he had already given him,—to depart from the country. "I

ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν,
εἰ εἴποιτε ὅτι δεδέηται ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπρᾶξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρ' ἑκόντος ἢ παρ' ἄκοντος
Σεύθου, καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυχόντες προθύμως ἂν
συνέπεσθαι ὑμῖν φασι· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι λέγειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπιέναι
ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.
15 Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν
καὶ ἄλλα ὁποῖα ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς
ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους.
ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· Εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις, ὦ
Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς
16 πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν. ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα δὴ ὑφειμένως· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω, ἔφη, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ
αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιοῦμεν τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους
μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους
κακῶς ποιῆτε ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμέτεροι γάρ
17 εἰσιν. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίοιμεν ἂν ὁπότε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν
καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν
βοηθήσοντες τούτοις καὶ τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας οἳ
τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἠδίκησαν. ἢν δὲ δὴ
καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθένδε ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια
18 λαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐθέλοιτε ἂν
τούτοις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειδὴ φίλους
ἔφατε εἶναι ὑμῖν, ἐν ὧν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότερ'
ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσήκει[1] ἐκ τῆς χώρας

[1] προσήκει Gem., following Poppo: προσῆκεν MSS., Mar.

should think, therefore," he continued, "that you might recover for the army the pay that is due if you should say that the army has requested you to aid them in exacting their pay from Seuthes whether he will or no, and that the troops say that they would follow you eagerly in case they should obtain it; also, that their words seem to you just, and that you promised them not to depart until the soldiers should obtain their rights."

When they had heard him, the Laconians replied that they would make such statements, adding others as forceful as they could make them; and straightway they set forth, taking with them all the important men of the army. Upon their arrival Charminus said: "If you have anything to say to us, Medosades, say it; if not, we have something to say to you." And Medosades replied, very submissively: "I say, and Seuthes also says the same, that we ask that those who have become friends of ours should not suffer harm at your hands; for whatever harm you may do to them, you are then and there doing to us; for they are ours." "As for ourselves, then," said the Laconians, "we shall depart whenever the men who obtained these possessions for you, have received their pay; failing that, we intend here and now to lend them our assistance and to punish the men who, in violation of their oaths, have done them wrong. And if you belong to that number, it is with you that we shall begin in obtaining their rights." Then Xenophon said: "Would you be willing, Medosades, to leave the question to these people (for you were saying that they are your friends) in whose country we are, to vote, one way or the other, whether it is proper for you or ourselves

19 ἀπιέναι εἴτε ἡμᾶς; ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὼ τὼ Λάκωνε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἴεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πεῖσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ συμπράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κώμας μὴ καίειν.

20 Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι Ξενοφῶντα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἳ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην· Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ
21 Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ διδάξων, ἢν δύνωμαι, ὡς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἠχθέσθης ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπῄτουν σε προθύμως ἃ ὑπέσχου αὐτοῖς· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἧττον ἐνόμιζον σύμφορον εἶναι ἀπο-
22 δοῦναι ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεί γε βασιλέα σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι λανθάνειν οὔτε ἤν τι καλὸν οὔτε ἤν τι
23 αἰσχρὸν ποιήσῃς. τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μέν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δὲ εὖ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν καταστῆσαι ὅ τι λέγοις.
24 ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλανωμένους· οἳ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λόγοι, ἤν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μεῖον δύνανται

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[1] *cp.* the enumeration of the "Ten Thousand" in v. iii. 3, and see especially ii. 3–4 and 6.

to depart from their country?" Medosades said "No" to that; but he urged, as his preference, that the two Laconians should go to Seuthes themselves about the pay, and said that he thought they might persuade Seuthes; or if they would not consent to go, he asked them to send Xenophon along with himself, and promised to support him. And he begged them not to burn the villages.

Thereupon they sent Xenophon, and with him the men who seemed to be fittest. When he had come, he said to Seuthes: "I am here, Seuthes, not to present any demand, but to show you, if I can, that you were wrong in getting angry with me because in the name of the soldiers I zealously demanded from you what you had promised them; for I believed that it was no less to your advantage to pay them than it was to theirs to get their pay. For, in the first place, I know that next to the gods it was these men who set you in a conspicuous position, since they made you king over a large territory and many people; hence it is not possible for you to escape notice, whether you perform an honourable deed or a base one. Now it seemed to me an important thing that a man in such a place should not be thought to have dismissed benefactors without gratitude, an important thing also to be well spoken of by six thousand men,[1] but most important of all that you should by no means set yourself down as untrustworthy in whatever you say. For I see that the words of untrustworthy men wander here and there without result, without power, and without honour; but if men are seen to practise truth, their words, if they desire anything, have power to accomplish no less than force in the hands

ἀνύσασθαι ἢ ἄλλων ἡ βία· ἤν τέ τινας σωφρονίζειν βούλωνται, γιγνώσκω τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἧττον σωφρονιζούσας ἢ ἄλλων τὸ ἤδη κολάζειν· ἤν τέ τῳ τι ὑπισχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μεῖον διαπράττονται ἢ ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες.

25 Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σὺ τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. οἶσθ' ὅτι οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες ἐπῆρας τοσούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ κατεργάσασθαί σοι ἀρχὴν οὐ τριάκοντα μόνον ἀξίαν ταλάντων, ὅσα οἴονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ
26 πολλαπλασίων. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον τὸ πιστεύεσθαι, τὸ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν χρημάτων πιπράσκεται.

27 Ἴθι δὴ ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε καταπρᾶξαι ἃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. ἐγὼ μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ηὔξω ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλόν σοι καταπραχθῆναι ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν
28 χρημάτων γενέσθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μεῖζον βλάβος καὶ αἴσχιον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅσῳπερ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτῆσαι, καὶ ὅσῳ λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλέως ἰδιώτην
29 φανῆναι ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεῦσαι. οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι οὐ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπείσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν πάλιν ἐλεύθεροι γίγνεσθαι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι.

of other men; and if they wish to bring one to reason, I perceive that their threats can do this no less than present chastisement applied by others; and if such men make a promise to any one, they accomplish no less than others do by an immediate gift.

"Recall for yourself what amount you paid to us in advance in order to obtain us as allies. You know that it was nothing; but because you were trusted to carry out truthfully whatever you said, you induced that great body of men to take the field with you and to gain for you a realm worth not merely thirty talents, the sum which these men think they ought now to recover, but many times as much. First of all, then, this trust, the very thing which gained your kingdom for you, is being sold for this sum.

"Come, now, recall how great a thing you then deemed it to achieve the conquests which you now have achieved. For my part, I am sure you would have prayed that the deeds now done might be accomplished for you rather than that many times that amount of money might fall to your lot. Now I count it greater hurt and shame not to hold these possessions firmly now than not to have gained them then, by so much as it is a harder fate to become poor after being rich than not to become rich at all, and by so much as it is more painful to be found a subject after being a king than not to become king at all. You understand, then, that those who have now become your subjects were not persuaded to live under your rule out of affection for you, but by stress of necessity, and that unless some fear should restrain them, they would endeavour to become free again.

30 ποτέρως οὖν οἴει μᾶλλον ἂν φοβεῖσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὁρῴέν σοι τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους ὡς νῦν τε μένοντας ἄν, εἰ σὺ κελεύοις, αὖθίς τ᾽ ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλλους τε τούτων περὶ σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ταχὺ ἄν σοι ὁπότε βούλοιο παραγενέσθαι, ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν μήτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν δι᾽ ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γεγενημένων τού-

31 τους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρους εἶναι ἢ σοί; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν σοι, ἀλλὰ προστατῶν ἀπορίᾳ. οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος μὴ λάβωσι προστάτας αὐτῶν τινας τούτων οἳ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐὰν μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον αὐτοῖς συστρατεύσεσθαι, ἂν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι

32 τῆς στρατιᾶς συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοὶ Θρᾷκες γενόμενοι πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἴοιεν ἐπί σε ἢ σύν σοι οὐκ ἄδηλον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος δουλεία ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς, κρατουμένου δέ σου ἐλευθερία.

33 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας προνοεῖσθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ ὡς σῆς οὔσης, ποτέρως ἂν οἴει ἀπαθῆ κακῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν εἶναι, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπο-

In which of these two cases, therefore, do you think they would feel greater fear and be more moderate in their relations with you: if they should see the soldiers cherishing such feelings toward you that they would stay with you now if you so bade them and would quickly come back to you again if you needed them, and should see also that others, hearing many good things about you from these troops, would quickly present themselves to take service with you whenever you wished it—or if they should form the unkind opinion that no other soldiers would come to you, in consequence of a distrust resulting from what has now happened, and that these whom you have are more friendly to them than to you? Again, it was by no means because they fell short of us in numbers that they yielded to you, but because they lacked leaders. Hence there is now danger on this count also, the danger that they may find leaders in some of these soldiers who regard themselves as wronged by you, or else in men who are even stronger than these are,—I mean the Lacedaemonians,—in case the soldiers promise to render them more zealous service if they now exact what is due from you, and in case the Lacedaemonians, on account of their needing the army, grant them this request. Again, that the Thracians who have now fallen under your sway would far more eagerly go against you than with you, is quite certain; for when you are conqueror their lot is slavery, and when you are conquered it is freedom.

"And if you need henceforth to take some thought for the sake of this land also, seeing that it is yours, in which case do you suppose it would be freer from ills: if these soldiers should recover what they claim

λαβόντες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἴχοιντο, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιεν ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ σύ τε ἄλλους πειρῷο πλέονας τούτων ἔχων ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων;
34 ἀργύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν πλέον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τούτοις τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιντο ἄλλους τε κρείττονας δέοι σε μισθοῦ-
35 σθαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου, πάμπολυ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. ἦ μὴν πολύ γέ ἐστιν ἔλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ λαβεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἢ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ δέ-
36 κατον τούτου μέρος. οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστιν ὁ ὁρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος. σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσοδος πλείων ἔσται ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα πάντα ἃ ἐκέκτησο.

37 Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Σεύθη, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου προυνοούμην, ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος δοκοίης εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοί σοι ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν ἐγώ τε μὴ διαφθαρείην
38 ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος κακῶς ποιῆσαι δυνηθείην σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔτ᾽ ἂν εἴ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην· οὕτω γὰρ
39 πρός με ἡ στρατιὰ διάκειται. καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν θεοῖς εἰδόσι ποιοῦμαι ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐδὲν οὔτε ᾔτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων οὔτε ἃ ὑπέσχου

and go away leaving a state of peace behind them, or if they should remain as in a hostile country and you should undertake to maintain an opposing camp with other troops, that would have to be more numerous than these and would need provisions? And in which case would more money be spent, if what is owing to these men should be paid over to them, or if this sum should be left owing and you should have to hire other troops stronger than they are? Yes, but Heracleides thinks, as he used to explain to me, that this sum of money is a very large one. Upon my word it is a far smaller thing now for you to receive or to pay this sum than it would have been before we came to you to receive or to pay a tenth part of it. For it is not number that determines what is much and what is little, but the capacity of the man who pays and of him who receives. And as for yourself, your yearly income is going to be greater now than all the property you possessed amounted to before.

"For my part, Seuthes, it was out of regard for you as a friend that I urged this course, in order that you might be deemed worthy of the good things which the gods have given to you and that I might not lose credit with the army. For be well assured that at present if I should wish to inflict harm upon a foe, I could not do it with this army, and if I should wish to come to your assistance again, I should not find myself able to do that; such is the feeling of the army toward me. And yet I make your own self my witness, along with the gods, who know, that I have neither received anything from you that was intended for the soldiers, nor have ever asked what was theirs for my private use, nor demanded

40 μοι ἀπῄτησα· ὄμνυμι δέ σοι μηδὲ ἀποδιδόντος
δέξασθαι ἄν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔμελλον τὰ
ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ
μὲν ἐμὰ διαπεπρᾶχθαι, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνων περιιδεῖν
κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ᾽
41 ἐκείνων. καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε λῆρος πάντα
δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς
τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθη, οὐδὲν νομίζω ἀνδρὶ
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα οὐδὲ
λαμπρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιό-
42 τητος. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων
φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βουλο-
μένων γενέσθαι, καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς
συνησθησομένους, ἐὰν δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει
τῶν βοηθησόντων.

43 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες
ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν
λόγων δύνασαι τοῦτο γνῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν
στρατιωτῶν λόγους πάντας κατανόησον· παρῆσθα
γὰρ καὶ ἤκουες ἃ ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλό-
44 μενοι. κατηγόρουν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιοίμην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους,
αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοὶ ὡς μᾶλλον μέλει μοι
ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν·
45 ἔφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. καίτοι
τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἴει αὐτοὺς κακόνοιάν
τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰτιᾶσθαί με ἔχειν
παρὰ σοῦ ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σὲ κατανοή-

from you what you had promised me; and I swear to you that even if you had offered to pay what was due to me, I should not have accepted it unless the soldiers also were at the same time to recover what was due to them. For it would have been disgraceful to get my own affairs arranged and leave theirs in an evil state, especially since I was honoured by them. And yet Heracleides thinks that everything is but nonsense in comparison with possessing money, by hook or by crook; but I believe, Seuthes, that no possession is more honourable for a man, especially a commander, or more splendid than valour and justice and generosity. For he who possesses these things is rich because many are his friends, and rich because still others desire to become his friends; if he prospers he has those who will rejoice with him, and if he meets with a mischance he does not lack those who will come to his aid.

"But if you neither learned from my deeds that I was your friend from the bottom of my heart nor are able to perceive this from my words, at least give a thought to what the soldiers say with one accord; for you were present and heard what those who wished to censure me said. They accused me before the Lacedaemonians of regarding you more highly than I did the Lacedaemonians, while on their own account they charged me with being more concerned that your affairs should be well than that their own should be; and they also said that I had received gifts from you. And yet, touching these gifts, do you imagine it was because they had observed in me some ill-will toward you that they charged me with having received them from you, or because they perceived in me abundant good-will for you? For

46 σαντας; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομί-
ζειν εὔνοιαν δεῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι τούτῳ παρʼ οὗ
ἂν δῶρά τις λαμβάνῃ. σὺ δὲ πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαί
τί σοι ἐμὲ ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ
ξενίοις καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνε-
πίμπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἃ ἐβούλου καὶ
γεγένησαι ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω
με ἄτιμον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾷς
47 περιορᾶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι
πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξειν σε καὶ αὐτόν
γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργε-
σίαν ὁρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. δέομαι οὖν σου,
ὅταν ἀποδιδῷς, προθυμεῖσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς
στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι οἷόνπερ καὶ παρέ-
λαβες.
48 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κατηράσατο τῷ
αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ
πάντες Ἡρακλείδην τοῦτον ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι·
ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οὔτε διενοήθην πώποτε ἀποστε-
49 ρῆσαι ἀποδώσω τε. ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ
Ξενοφῶν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διανοῇ ἀποδιδόναι, νῦν
ἐγώ σου δέομαι διʼ ἐμοῦ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ μὴ περι-
ιδεῖν με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ
50 νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμεθα. ὁ δʼ εἶπεν·
Ἀλλʼ οὔτʼ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔσῃ διʼ ἐμὲ ἀτιμό-
τερος ἄν τε μένῃς παρʼ ἐμοὶ χιλίους μόνους ὁπλί-
τας ἔχων, ἐγώ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ

my part, I presume that everybody believes he ought to show good-will to the man from whom he receives gifts. You, however, before I had rendered you any service, welcomed me with a pleasure which you showed by your eyes, your voice, and your hospitality, and you could not make promises enough about all that should be done for me; yet now that you have accomplished what you desired and have become as great as I could possibly make you, have you now the heart to allow me to be held in such dishonour among the soldiers? But truly I have confidence, not only that time will teach you that you must resolve to pay what is due, but also that you will not yourself endure to see those men who have freely given you good service, accusing you. I ask you, therefore, when you render payment, to use all zeal to make me just such a man in the eyes of the soldiers as I was when you made me your friend."

Upon hearing these words Seuthes cursed the man who was to blame for the fact that the soldiers' wages had not been paid long ago; and everybody suspected that Heracleides was that man; "for I," said Seuthes, "never intended to defraud them, and I will pay over the money." Thereupon Xenophon said again: "Then since you intend to make payment, I now request you to do it through me, and not to allow me to have, on your account, a different standing with the army now from what I had at the time when we came to you." And Seuthes replied: "But you will not be less honoured among the soldiers on my account if you will stay with me, keeping only a thousand hoplites, and, besides, I will give over the fortresses to you and the other things that I

51 τἆλλα ἃ ὑπεσχόμην. ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε· Ταῦτα
μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς.
Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι
52 οἶδα ὂν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. ὁ δὲ πάλιν
εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ· ἐμοὶ
δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἷόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος
53 ὦ, νόμιζε καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι. ἐντεῦ-
θεν λέγει Σεύθης· Ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἀλλ' ἢ
μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον· βοῦς
δὲ ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ
ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ταῦτα λαβὼν
καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προσλαβὼν
54 ἄπιθι. γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἢν οὖν μὴ
ἐξικνῆται ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον
φήσω ἔχειν; ἆρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν
μοί ἐστιν, ἀπιόντα γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι πέ-
τρους; ἤκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς. τότε μὲν δὴ
αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.

55 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο
καὶ τοὺς ἐλῶντας συνέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
τέως μὲν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὡς Σεύ-
θην οἰκήσων καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ληψόμενος·
56 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον, ἥσθησαν καὶ προσέθεον. Ξενοφῶν
δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμῖνόν τε καὶ Πολύνικον, Ταῦτα,
ἔφη, σέσωται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραδί-
δωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθέμενοι διάδοτε
τῇ στρατιᾷ. οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λα-
φυροπώλας καταστήσαντες ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν

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[1] See note on I. vii. 18. [2] *cp.* iv. 12–24.
[3] With reference to vi. 10.

promised." And Xenophon answered: "This plan is not a possible one; so dismiss us." "Yet really," said Seuthes, "I know that it is also safer for you to stay with me than to go away." And Xenophon replied: "Well, I thank you for your solicitude; it is not possible, however, for me to stay; but wherever I may enjoy greater honour, be sure that it will be a good thing for you as well as myself." Thereupon Seuthes said: "As for ready money, I have only a little, and that I give you, a talent;[1] but I have six hundred cattle, and sheep to the number of four thousand, and nearly a hundred and twenty slaves. Take these, and likewise the hostages of the people who wronged you,[2] and go your way." Xenophon laughed and said: "Now supposing all this does not suffice to cover the amount of the pay, whose talent shall I say I have? Would I not better, seeing that it is really a source of danger to me, be on my guard against stones[3] on my way back? For you heard the threats." For the time, then, he remained there at Seuthes' quarters.

On the next day Seuthes delivered over to them what he had promised, and sent men with them to drive the cattle. As for the soldiers, up to this time they had been saying that Xenophon had gone off to Seuthes to dwell with him and to receive what Seuthes had promised him; but when they caught sight of him, they were delighted, and ran out to meet him. As soon as Xenophon saw Charminus and Polynicus, he said to them: "This property has been saved for the army through you, and to you I turn it over; do you, then, dispose of it and make the distribution to the army." They, accordingly, took it over, appointed booty-vendors, and proceeded to sell

57 εἶχον αἰτίαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσῄει, ἀλλὰ
φανερὸς ἦν οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω
ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. προσ-
ελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ
στράτευμα καὶ Θίβρωνι παραδοίη.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον, καὶ
ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης μάντις Φλειά-
σιος ὁ Κλεαγόρου υἱὸς τοῦ τὰ ἐντοίχια ἐν Λυκείῳ
γεγραφότος. οὗτος συνήδετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι
ἐσέσωτο, καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν πόσον χρυσίον ἔχει.
2 ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν ἦ μὴν ἔσεσθαι μηδὲ
ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιόντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν
ἵππον καὶ ἃ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ
3 ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια
τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἔθυε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, παρεστή-
σατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην· ἰδὼν δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ Εὐκλείδης
εἶπεν ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. Ἀλλ'
οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι κἂν μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι, φαίνεταί
τι ἐμπόδιον, ἂν μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ. συνωμο-
4 λόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐμπόδιος
γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μειλίχιός ἐστι, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ
ἤδη θύσειεν, ὥσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν
θύεσθαι καὶ ὁλοκαυτεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἐξ ὅτου
ἀπεδήμησε τεθυκέναι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. συνεβού-
λευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι καθὰ εἰώθει, καὶ ἔφη

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[1] The precise date of Xenophon's banishment is uncertain. It appears to have resulted not only from his participation in the expedition of Cyrus, who had been an ally of the Spartans against Athens (see III. i. 5), but from his close association with Spartans thereafter.

[2] The famous gymnasium at Athens.

[3] *i.e.* Zeus in this particular one of his functions, as "the Merciful." *cp.* vi. 44.

it; and they incurred a great deal of blame. As for Xenophon, he would not go near them, but it was plain that he was making preparations for his homeward journey; for not yet had sentence of exile been pronounced against him at Athens.[1] His friends in the camp, however, came to him and begged him not to depart until he should lead the army away and turn it over to Thibron.

VIII. From there they sailed across to Lampsacus, where Xenophon was met by Eucleides, the Phliasian seer, son of the Cleagoras who painted the mural paintings in the Lyceum.[2] Eucleides congratulated Xenophon upon his safe return, and asked him how much gold he had got. He replied, swearing to the truth of his statement, that he would not have even enough money to pay his travelling expenses on the way home unless he should sell his horse and what he had about his person. And Eucleides would not believe him. But when the Lampsacenes sent gifts of hospitality to Xenophon and he was sacrificing to Apollo, he gave Eucleides a place beside him; and when Eucleides saw the vitals of the victims, he said that he well believed that Xenophon had no money. "But I am sure," he went on, "that even if money should ever be about to come to you, some obstacle always appears—if nothing else, your own self." In this Xenophon agreed with him. Then Eucleides said, "Yes, Zeus the Merciful is an obstacle in your way," and asked whether he had yet sacrificed to him, "just as at home," he continued, "where I was wont to offer the sacrifices for you, and with whole victims." Xenophon replied that not since he left home had he sacrificed to that god.[3] Eucleides, accordingly, advised him to sacrifice just as he used to do, and said that it would be to his advantage.

5 συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ξενο-
φῶν προσελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο καὶ ὡλο-
καύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει.
6 καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίων καὶ Ναυσι-
κλείδης χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ
ξενοῦνται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἵππον ὃν ἐν Λαμ-
ψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύ-
οντες αὐτὸν δι' ἔνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον
αὐτὸν ἥδεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν καὶ
τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπολαβεῖν.
7 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρῳάδος, καὶ
ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἴδην εἰς Ἄντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται
πρῶτον, εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι εἰς
8 Θήβης πεδίον. ἐντεῦθεν δι' Ἀδραμυττίου[1] καὶ
Κερτωνοῦ[1] ὁδεύσαντες εἰς Καΐκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες
Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.
Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν Ἑλλάδι τῇ
Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως γυναικὶ καὶ Γοργίωνος
9 καὶ Γογγύλου μητρί. αὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει
ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης·
τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τρια-
κοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα
καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά.
ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τόν τε αὑτῆς
ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλείστου ἐποι-
10 εῖτο. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ' ἑαυτῷ
ἐθύετο. καὶ Βασίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος μάντις παρὼν

[1] Printed as by Mar., following the MSS. : various slight changes have been suggested.

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[1] Apparently officers sent by Thibron.

And the next day, upon coming to Ophrynium, Xenophon proceeded to sacrifice, offering whole victims of swine after the custom of his fathers, and he obtained favourable omens. In fact, on that very day Bion and Nausicleides[1] arrived with money to give to the army and were entertained by Xenophon, and they redeemed his horse, which he had sold at Lampsacus for fifty darics,—for they suspected that he had sold it for want of money, since they heard he was fond of the horse,—gave it back to him, and would not accept from him the price of it.

From there they marched through the Troad and, crossing over Mount Ida, arrived first at Antandrus, and then, proceeding along the coast, reached the plain of Thebe. Making their way from there through Adramyttium and Certonus, they came to the plain of the Caïcus and so reached Pergamus, in Mysia.

Here Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus[2] the Eretrian and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. She told him that there was a Persian in the plain named Asidates, and said that if he should go by night with three hundred troops, he could capture this man, along with his wife and children and property, of which he had a great deal. And she sent as guides for this enterprise not only her own cousin, but also Daphnagoras, whom she regarded very highly. Xenophon, accordingly, proceeded to sacrifice, keeping these two by his side. And Basias, the Elean seer who was present, said

[2] Whose ancestor (father?), according to *Hell.* III. i. 6, had been given four cities in this neighbourhood by Xerxes "because he espoused the Persian cause, being the only man among the Eretrians who did so, and was therefore banished." *cp.* II. i. 3 and note.

εἶπεν ὅτι κάλλιστα εἴη τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ
11 ἁλώσιμος εἴη. δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο τούς τε λοχαγοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ ἄλλους[1] πιστοὺς γεγενημένους διὰ παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιήσαι αὐτούς. συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαυνον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὡς ἑτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων.
12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν πέριξ ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα τὰ πλεῖστα ἀπέδρα αὐτοὺς παραμελοῦντας, ὡς τὸν
13 Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. πυργομαχοῦντες δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν—ὑψηλὴ γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλη καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα—διο-
14 ρύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν πύργον. ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ᾽ ὀκτὼ πλίνθων γηίνων τὸ εὖρος. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρώρυκτο· καὶ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μηδὲ παριέναι ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς
15 εἶναι. κεκραγότων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων ἐκβοηθοῦσιν Ἰταμένης μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ ὁπλῖται Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους,

[1] ἄλλους inserted by Hug, whom Mar. inclines to follow: Gem. emends by inserting τε before μάλιστα.

that the omens were extremely favourable for him and that the man was easy to capture. So after dinner he set forth, taking with him the captains who were his closest friends and others who had proved themselves trustworthy throughout, in order that he might do them a good turn. But there joined him still others who forced themselves in, to the number of six hundred; and the captains tried to drive them away, so that they might not have to give them a share in the booty—just as though the property was already in hand.

When they reached the place, about midnight, the slaves that were round about the tower and most of the animals ran away, the Greeks leaving them unheeded in order to capture Asidates himself and his belongings. And when they found themselves unable to take the tower by storm (for it was high and large, and furnished with battlements and a considerable force of warlike defenders), they attempted to dig through the tower-wall. Now the wall had a thickness of eight earthen bricks. At daybreak, however, a breach had been made; and just as soon as the light showed through, some one from within struck with an ox-spit clean through the thigh of the man who was nearest the hole; and from that time on they kept shooting out arrows and so made it unsafe even to pass by the place any more. Then, as the result of their shouting and lighting of beacon fires, there came to their assistance Itamenes with his own force, and from Comania Assyrian hoplites and Hyrcanian horsemen—these also being mercenaries in the service of the King—to the number of eighty, as well as about eight hundred peltasts, and more from Parthenium, and

ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας
καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς.

16 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἄφο-
δος· καὶ λαβόντες ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα
ἤλαυνον καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησά-
μενοι, οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔτι προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν,
ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἄφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ
χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἵ τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι
εἶεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπῇσαν
17 ὡς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχούμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα
Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πολλοὺς
δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίᾳ τῆς
μητρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βουλόμενος
μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς
ἐξ Ἁλισάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου.
18 οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἐπιέζοντο
ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι
κύκλῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων,
μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάρκασον ποταμόν, τετρω-
19 μένοι ἐγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγασίας ὁ
Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα
χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ δια-
σῴζονται ἀνδράποδα ὡς διακόσια ἔχοντες καὶ
πρόβατα ὅσον θύματα.

20 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐξάγει
νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην
ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας, εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι
21 φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακτεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης

[1] *cp.* II. i. 3 and note.

more from Apollonia and from the near-by places, including horsemen.

Then it was time to consider how the retreat was to be effected; so seizing all the cattle and sheep there were, as well as slaves, they got them inside of a hollow square and proceeded to drive them along with them, not because they were any longer giving thought to the matter of booty, but out of fear that the retreat might become a rout if they should go off and leave their booty behind, and that the enemy might become bolder and the soldiers more disheartened; while as it was, they were withdrawing like men ready to fight for their possessions. But as soon as Gongylus saw that the Greeks were few and those who were attacking them many, he sallied forth himself, in spite of his mother, at the head of his own force, desiring to take part in the action; and Procles[1] also came to the rescue, from Halisarna and Teuthrania, the descendant of Damaratus. And Xenophon and his men, by this time sorely distressed by the arrows and sling-stones, and marching in a curved line in order to keep their shields facing the arrows, succeeded with difficulty in crossing the Carcasus river, almost half of their number wounded. It was here that Agasias, the Stymphalian captain, was wounded, though he continued to fight all the time against the enemy. So they came out of it in safety, with about two hundred slaves and sheep enough for sacrificial victims.

The next day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and then by night led forth the entire army with the intention of making as long a march as possible through Lydia, to the end that Asidates might not be fearful on account of their nearness, but be off his guard.

ἀκούσας ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἥξοι, ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κώμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα
22 *ἐχούσας. ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ πάντα τὰ*
23 *ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέργαμον. ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν ἠσπάσατο Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥστ' ἐξαίρετα λαβεῖν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ζεύγη καὶ τἆλλα· ὥστε ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.*

24 *Ἐν τούτῳ Θίβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ συμμείξας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.*[1]

[1] The MSS. add the following statistical notes, which, like the summaries prefixed to the several books (see note on II. i. 1), must have been the contribution of a late editor :
25 Ἄρχοντες δὲ οἵδε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας ὅσην ἐπήλθομεν. Λυδίας Ἀρτίμας, Φρυγίας Ἀρτακάμας, Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας Μιθραδάτης, Κιλικίας Συέννεσις, Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας Δέρνης, Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας Βέλεσυς, Βαβυλῶνος Ῥωπάρας, Μηδίας Ἀρβάκας, Φασιανῶν καὶ Ἑσπεριτῶν Τιρίβαζος· Καρδοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Κόλχοι καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι καὶ Κοῖτοι καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ αὐτόνομοι· Παφλαγονίας Κορύλας, Βιθυνῶν Φαρνάβαζος, τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾳκῶν Σεύθης.
26 Ἀριθμὸς συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως σταθμοὶ διακόσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, στάδια τρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε. χρόνου πλῆθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.

Asidates, however, hearing that Xenophon had sacrificed again with a view to attacking him and that he was to come with the entire army, left his tower and encamped in villages that lay below the town of Parthenium. There Xenophon and his men fell in with him, and they captured him, his wife and children, his horses, and all that he had; and thus the omens of the earlier sacrifice proved true. After that they came back again to Pergamus. And there Xenophon paid his greeting to the god; for the Laconians, the captains, the other generals, and the soldiers joined in arranging matters so that he got the pick of horses and teams of oxen and all the rest; the result was, that he was now able even to do a kindness to another.

Meanwhile Thibron arrived and took over the army, and uniting it with the rest of his Greek forces, proceeded to wage war upon Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.[1]

[1] Statistical notes (see opposite page): The governors of all the King's territories that we traversed were as follows: Artimas of Lydia, Artacamas of Phrygia, Mithradates of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Syennesis of Cilicia, Dernes of Phoenicia and Arabia, Belesys of Syria and Assyria, Rhoparas of Babylon, Arbacas of Media, Tiribazus of the Phasians and Hesperites; then the Carduchians, Chalybians, Chaldaeans, Macronians, Colchians, Mossynoecians, Coetians, and Tibarenians, who were independent; and then Corylas governor of Paphlagonia, Pharnabazus of the Bithynians, and Seuthes of the Thracians in Europe.

The length of the entire journey, upward and downward, was two hundred and fifteen stages, one thousand, one hundred and fifty parasangs, or thirty-four thousand, two hundred and fifty-five stadia; and the length in time, upward and downward, a year and three months.

THE BANQUET

NOTE

The basis of the text both of the *Symposium* and of the *Apologia* is that of Sauppe published by B. Tauchnitz. Variations from this are indicated in the footnotes (for which I am indebted in several places to the *apparatus criticus* of the Oxford text edited by Marchant), except that I have made a few unnoted changes in accents and punctuation and have adopted without comment the better attested spellings ἀποθνῄσκω, ἀποτεῖσαι, ἐβούλετο, ηὐ- in augmented forms, νεώς, οἰκτίρω, σῴζω, -ττ-(-σσ-), φῄς, Φλειάσιος. In the *Symposium* ii. 3 I am inclined to think that the reading should be ἑστιῴμεθα. On the difficult phrase πρὸς τὸ ὄπισθεν (*Symp.* iv, 23) I should like to mention Dakyns' suggestion (based on Pollux ii, 10) of περὶ τὴν ὑπήνην.

INTRODUCTION

The adventuresome days of Xenophon's earlier life were over, and though in exile from Athens, he was living peacefully, it would seem, in the western part of the Peloponnese somewhere about the year 380 B.C., at the time when he wrote the *Symposium* or *Banquet* purporting to give an account of an evening in Athens about forty years before.

Although Xenophon begins by stating that he himself attended this banquet, we are led by the fact that he nowhere appears in the ensuing discussion and by the fact of his writing so long after the supposed event to suspect that we must not consider his work as an historical document (though possibly based on an actual occurrence), but rather as an attempt to sketch the revered master, Socrates, in one of his times of social relaxation and enjoyment, and, it may have been, to present a corrective to the loftier but less realistic picture of Socrates at dinner with Agathon as drawn for us by Plato in his *Symposium*. In spite of the possibly fictitious nature of the conversation, however, the personages in the dialogue, with perhaps two exceptions, are all historical. Socrates, the great man who aroused such keen admiration and deep affection in Xenophon, Plato, and a large group of other men of diverse tastes and characters, is the central figure,

around whom appear various lesser contemporaries: Callias, the giver of the feast, represented by Plato as a dilettante who patronized the sophists, and by the comic poets Aristophanes and Eupolis as a dissipated and spendthrift scion of a very wealthy family that had been prominent at Athens in war, sports, religion, and politics for nearly two centuries; Autolycus, the object of Callias's admiration, son of the politician Lycon (who appeared twenty-two years later as one of the prosecutors of Socrates), a youth of great beauty and of some athletic prowess, one ot the prize-winners at the Panathenaic games in this year (421 B.C.) and the next year subject of a comedy by Eupolis called the *Autolycus*, finally executed by the Thirty Tyrants; Antisthenes, follower of Gorgias the sophist and of Socrates, afterward founder of the Cynic school of philosophy; Niceratus, son of the wealthy general Nicias (who perished in the ill-advised Syracusan expedition about seven years after the events of this evening), represented here as newly married to an Athenian girl who, we are told elsewhere, would not survive her husband when he was killed by the Thirty Tyrants; Critobulus, son of Socrates' faithful friend Crito; Hermogenes, probably the brother of Callias, mentioned by Plato as having failed to receive his share of the ancestral wealth; Charmides, uncle of Plato and a favourite of Socrates; and two persons otherwise unknown to us, Philip the buffoon and the Syracusan.

Not only are the personages all, or nearly all, historical, but the setting and the action are circumstantial and realistic. The time was the summer of 421 B.C., just after the greater Panathenaic games, —an ancient festival to Athena held every year,

but every fourth year with special munificence, comprising contests for various kinds of athletes and musicians, and culminating in the brilliant and stately procession of men and maidens, sacrificial victims, charioteers, and cavalrymen that had been immortalized only a few years before this time by Pheidias and his craftsmen in the magnificent Ionic frieze of the Parthenon. Socrates and his friends are invited by Callias in holiday spirit, on the spur of the moment, to attend a banquet which he is about to give to Autolycus and his father. Everything is informal,—the various rambling remarks and bandied pleasantries, the unceremonious interruption by Philip the jester, the entertainment offered by the Syracusan and his trained troupe, and then the more systematic presentation by each man of his special contribution to the common weal, followed by the pantomime. It is hardly worth while to compare this real and vital scene with the jejune *Banquets* of later men, mere stalking-horses for the philosophical disquisitions of an Epicurus, the miscellanies of a Plutarch or an Athenaeus, or the antiquarian pilferings of a Macrobius: one rather turns to a work nearer in time and in essence, the *Symposium* of Plato, written apparently about 385 B.C., doubtless only a few years before the work of Xenophon. As might well have been expected, we do not reach in Xenophon the same exalted level of inspiration and poetical feeling that we do in Plato's representation of the banqueters' discussion of Love, but we feel rather the atmosphere of actual, ordinary disputation among men not keyed up to any high pitch of fervour; we do not have so well-developed or so formal or so long-sustained philosophical debate,

but we enjoy a feeling of reality in the evening's event, of seeing more vividly than in Plato just how an Athenian banquet was conducted. And so, if we desire to supplement and correct the realism of the comedians and see the ordinary Athenians in their times of relaxation, we can hardly do better than view them in these pages of Xenophon. There is an Attic grace and restraint, also, in Xenophon that has made his works charming to ancient and to modern alike.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ

I. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς. οἷς δὲ παραγενόμενος ταῦτα γιγνώσκω δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.

2 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἱπποδρομία, Καλλίας δὲ ὁ Ἱππονίκου ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Αὐτολύκου παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ νενικηκότα αὐτὸν παγκράτιον ἧκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ὡς δὲ ἡ ἱπποδρομία ἔληξεν, ἔχων τόν τε Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπῄει εἰς τὴν ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἰκίαν·
3 συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νικήρατος. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁμοῦ ὄντας Σωκράτην τε καὶ Κριτόβουλον καὶ Ἑρμογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ Χαρμίδην, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ᾽ Αὐτόλυκον ἡγεῖσθαί τινα ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
4 προσῆλθε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σωκράτην, καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰς καλόν γε ὑμῖν συντετύχηκα· ἑστιᾶν γὰρ μέλλω Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. οἶμαι οὖν πολὺ ἂν τὴν κατασκευήν μοι λαμπροτέραν φανῆναι εἰ ἀνδράσιν ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ ὑμῖν ὁ ἀνδρὼν κεκοσμημένος εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ σπουδαρχίαις.

XENOPHON'S BANQUET

I. To my mind it is worth while to relate not only the serious acts of great and good men but also what they do in their lighter moods. I should like to narrate an experience of mine that gives me this conviction.

It was on the occasion of the horse-races at the greater Panathenaic games; Callias, Hipponicus' son, was enamoured, as it happened, of the boy Autolycus, and in honour of his victory in the pancratium[1] had brought him to see the spectacle. When the racing was over, Callias proceeded on his way to his house in the Peiraeus with Autolycus and the boy's father; Niceratus also was in his company. But on catching sight of a group comprising Socrates, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Antisthenes, and Charmides, Callias bade one of his servants escort Autolycus and the others, and himself going over to Socrates and his companions, said, "This is an opportune meeting, for I am about to give a dinner in honour of Autolycus and his father; and I think that my entertainment would present a great deal more brilliance if my dining-room were graced with the presence of men like you, whose hearts have undergone philosophy's purification, than it would with generals and cavalry commanders and office-seekers."

[1] The pancratium was a severe athletic contest involving a combination of boxing and wrestling, and requiring on the part of the contestants unusual physique and condition. There were separate events open to men and to boys.

5 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀεὶ σὺ ἐπισκώπτεις
ἡμᾶς καταφρονῶν ὅτι σὺ μὲν Πρωταγόρᾳ τε πολὺ
ἀργύριον δέδωκας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ Γοργίᾳ καὶ Προ-
δίκῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἡμᾶς δ' ὁρᾷς αὐτουργούς
τινας τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὄντας.

6 Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Καὶ πρόσθεν μέν γε, ἔφη,
ἀπεκρυπτόμην ὑμᾶς ἔχων πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγειν,
νῦν δέ, ἐὰν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἦτε, ἐπιδείξω ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν
πάνυ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὄντα.

7 Οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ
εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλῆσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνοῦντο
συνδειπνήσειν· ὡς δὲ πάνυ ἀχθόμενος φανερὸς ἦν
εἰ μὴ ἕψοιντο, συνηκολούθησαν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ
οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ
8 λουσάμενοι παρῆλθον. Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ
τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
κατεκλίθησαν.

Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐννοήσας τις[1] τὰ γιγνόμενα
ἡγήσατ' ἂν φύσει βασιλικόν τι τὸ κάλλος εἶναι,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης
9 καθάπερ Αὐτόλυκος τότε κεκτῆταί τις αὐτό. πρῶ-
τον μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῇ,
πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε
τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἷλκε τὰς ὄψεις
πρὸς αὐτόν. ἔπειτα τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ
ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου· οἱ μέν γε
σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό

[1] ἐννοήσας τις Aristeides; ἐννοήσας MSS.

"You are always quizzing us," replied Socrates; "for you have yourself paid a good deal of money for wisdom to Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and many others, while you see that we are what you might call amateurs in philosophy; and so you feel supercilious toward us."

"Yes," said Callias, "so far, I admit, I have been keeping you ignorant of my ability at profound and lengthy discourse; but now, if you will favour me with your company, I will prove to you that I am a person of some consequence."

Now at first Socrates and his companions thanked him for the invitation, as might be expected, but would not promise to attend the banquet; when it became clear, however, that he was taking their refusal very much to heart, they went with him. And so his guests arrived, some having first taken their exercise and their rub-down, others with the addition of a bath. Autolycus took a seat by his father's side; the others, of course, reclined.[1]

A person who took note of the course of events would have come at once to the conclusion that beauty is in its essence something regal, especially when, as in the present case of Autolycus, its possessor joins with it modesty and sobriety. For in the first place, just as the sudden glow of a light at night draws all eyes to itself, so now the beauty of Autolycus compelled every one to look at him. And again, there was not one of the onlookers who did not feel his soul strangely stirred by the boy; some of them grew quieter than before, others even

[1] Attic reliefs depicting banquet scenes show that it was customary for the men to recline at table, but for the women and children, if present, to sit.

10 πως. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐκ θεῶν του κατεχόμενοι
ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἄλλων
πρὸς τὸ γοργότεροί τε ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ φοβερώτερον
φθέγγεσθαι καὶ σφοδρότεροι εἶναι φέρονται, οἱ δ'
ὑπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἔρωτος ἔνθεοι τά τε ὄμματα
φιλοφρονεστέρως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν φωνὴν πρᾳοτέ-
ραν ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώ-
τατον ἄγουσιν. ἃ δὴ καὶ Καλλίας τότε διὰ τὸν
Ἔρωτα πράττων ἀξιοθέατος ἦν τοῖς τετελεσμένοις
τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ.
11 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν σιωπῇ ἐδείπνουν, ὥσπερ τοῦτο
ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονός τινος. Φί-
λιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε
τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ διότι
κατάγεσθαι βούλοιτο· συνεσκευασμένος τε παρεῖ-
ναι ἔφη πάντα τἀπιτήδεια—ὥστε δειπνεῖν τἀλ-
λότρια, καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διά
τε τὸ φέρειν—μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνάριστον εἶναι.
12 ὁ οὖν Καλλίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ
μέντοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, αἰσχρὸν στέγης γε φθονῆσαι·
εἰσίτω οὖν. καὶ ἅμα ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Αὐτό-
λυκον, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπισκοπῶν τί ἐκείνῳ δόξειε τὸ
13 σκῶμμα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔνθα τὸ
δεῖπνον ἦν εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν γελωτοποιός εἰμι ἴστε
πάντες· ἥκω δὲ προθύμως νομίσας γελοιότερον
εἶναι τὸ ἄκλητον ἢ τὸ κεκλημένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ
δεῖπνον. Κατακλίνου τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας·
καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρόντες σπουδῆς μέν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, μεστοί,
γέλωτος δὲ ἴσως ἐνδεέστεροι.

assumed some kind of a pose. Now it is true that all who are under the influence of any of the gods seem well worth gazing at; but whereas those who are possessed of the other gods have a tendency to be sterner of countenance, more terrifying of voice, and more vehement, those who are inspired by chaste Love have a more tender look, subdue their voices to more gentle tones, and assume a supremely noble bearing. Such was the demeanour of Callias at this time under the influence of Love; and therefore he was an object well worth the gaze of those initiated into the worship of this god.

The company, then, were feasting in silence, as though some one in authority had commanded them to do so, when Philip the buffoon knocked at the door and told the porter to announce who he was and that he desired to be admitted; he added that with regard to food he had come all prepared, in all varieties—to dine on some other person's,—and that his servant was in great distress with the load he carried of—nothing, and with having an empty stomach. Hearing this, Callias said, "Well, gentlemen, we cannot decently begrudge him at the least the shelter of our roof; so let him come in." With the words he cast a glance at Autolycus, obviously trying to make out what he had thought of the pleasantry. But Philip, standing at the threshold of the men's hall where the banquet was served, announced: "You all know that I am a jester; and so I have come here with a will, thinking it more of a joke to come to your dinner uninvited than to come by invitation." "Well, then," said Callias, "take a place; for the guests, though well fed, as you observe, on seriousness, are perhaps rather ill supplied with laughter."

14 Δειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Φίλιππος γελοῖόν τι
εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐπιτελοίη ὧνπερ
ἕνεκα ἐκαλεῖτο ἑκάστοτε ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα. ὡς δ᾽
οὐκ ἐκίνησε γέλωτα, τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς φανερὸς
ἐγένετο. αὖθις δ᾽ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἄλλο τι γελοῖον
ἐβούλετο λέγειν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐγέλασαν ἐπ᾽
αὐτῷ, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ παυσάμενος τοῦ δείπνου
15 συγκαλυψάμενος κατέκειτο. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Τί
τοῦτ᾽, ἔφη, ὦ Φίλιππε; ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ὀδύνη σε εἴληφε;
καὶ ὃς ἀναστενάξας εἶπε, Ναὶ μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη, ὦ
Καλλία, μεγάλη γε· ἐπεὶ γὰρ γέλως ἐξ ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀπόλωλεν, ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα. πρόσθεν
μὲν γὰρ τούτου ἕνεκα ἐκαλούμην ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα
ἵνα εὐφραίνοιντο οἱ συνόντες δι᾽ ἐμὲ γελῶντες· νῦν
δὲ τίνος ἕνεκα καὶ καλεῖ μέ τις; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε
σπουδάσαι ἂν δυναίμην μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἀθάνατος
γενέσθαι, οὔτε μὴν ὡς ἀντικληθησόμενος καλεῖ
μέ τις, ἐπεὶ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ νομίζε-
ται εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν δεῖπνον εἰσφέρεσθαι. καὶ
ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα ἀπεμύττετό τε καὶ τῇ φωνῇ
16 σαφῶς κλαίειν ἐφαίνετο. πάντες μὲν οὖν παρ-
εμυθοῦντό τε αὐτὸν ὡς αὖθις γελασόμενοι καὶ
δειπνεῖν ἐκέλευον, Κριτόβουλος δὲ καὶ ἐξεκάγχα-
σεν ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκτισμῷ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ᾔσθετο τοῦ
γέλωτος, ἀνεκαλύψατό τε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρακε-
λευσάμενος θαρρεῖν, ὅτι ἔσονται συμβολαί, πάλιν
ἐδείπνει.

II. Ὡς δ᾽ ἀφῃρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπει-

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[1] Philip puns on the ambiguous *συμβολαί*, which means either hostile encounters or a banquet to which the viands

No sooner were they engaged in their dinner than Philip attempted a witticism, with a view to rendering the service that secured him all his dinner engagements; but on finding that he did not excite any laughter, he showed himself, for the time, considerably vexed. A little later, however, he must try another jest; but when they would not laugh at him this time either, he stopped while the dinner was in full swing, covered his head with his cloak, and lay down on his couch. "What does this mean, Philip?" Callias inquired. "Are you seized with a pain?" Philip replied with a groan, "Yes, Callias, by Heaven, with a severe one; for since laughter has perished from the world, my business is ruined. For in times past, the reason why I got invitations to dinner was that I might stir up laughter among the guests and make them merry; but now, what will induce any one to invite me? For I could no more turn serious than I could become immortal; and certainly no one will invite me in the hope of a return invitation, as every one knows that there is not a vestige of tradition of bringing dinner into my house." As he said this, he wiped his nose, and to judge by the sound, he was evidently weeping. All tried to comfort him with the promise that they would laugh next time, and urged him to eat; and Critobulus actually burst out into a guffaw at his lugubrious moaning. The moment Philip heard the laughter he uncovered his head, and exhorting his spirit to be of good courage, in view of approaching engagements,[1] he fell to eating again.

II. When the tables had been removed and the

are contributed by the guests. His exhortation to his spirit is quite Odyssean.

σάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον Συρακόσιός τις[1] ἄνθρωπος, ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα ἀγαθὴν καὶ ὀρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὡραῖον καὶ πάνυ καλῶς κιθαρίζοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἐν θαύματι ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν.
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐλητρὶς μὲν ηὔλησεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκιθάρισε, καὶ ἐδόκουν μάλα ἀμφότεροι ἱκανῶς εὐφραίνειν, εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Νὴ Δί', ὦ Καλλία, τελέως ἡμᾶς ἑστιᾷς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον ἄμεμπτον παρέθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ
3 ἀκροάματα ἥδιστα παρέχεις. καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκοι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδίᾳ ἑστιώμεθα; Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης. ὥσπερ γάρ τοι ἐσθὴς ἄλλη μὲν γυναικί, ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρὶ καλή, οὕτω καὶ ὀσμὴ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνδρί, ἄλλη δὲ γυναικὶ πρέπει. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν δήπου ἕνεκα ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς μύρῳ χρίεται. αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν νύμφαι τύχωσιν οὖσαι, ὥσπερ ἡ Νικηράτου τοῦδε καὶ ἡ Κριτοβούλου, μύρου μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται; αὐταὶ γὰρ τούτου ὄζουσιν· ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἐν γυμνασίοις ὀσμὴ καὶ παροῦσα ἡδίων ἢ μύρου γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀποῦσα ποθεινοτέρα.
4 καὶ γὰρ δὴ μύρῳ μὲν ὁ ἀλειψάμενος καὶ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος εὐθὺς ἅπας ὅμοιον ὄζει· αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλευθερίων μόχθων ὀσμαὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε

[1] Sauppe follows one MS. in placing τις after ἔρχεται.

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[1] For the bride of Niceratus, see Introduction, p. 377.
[2] Perfumes were used at marriage by both bride and groom.

guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, there entered a man from Syracuse, to give them an evening's merriment. He had with him a fine flute-girl, a dancing-girl—one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks,—and a very handsome boy, who was expert at playing the cither and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performances as a spectacle. They now played for the assemblage, the flute-girl on the flute, the boy on the cither; and it was agreed that both furnished capital amusement. Thereupon Socrates remarked: "On my word, Callias, you are giving us a perfect dinner; for not only have you set before us a feast that is above criticism, but you are also offering us very delightful sights and sounds." "Suppose we go further," said Callias, "and have some one bring us some perfume, so that we may dine in the midst of pleasant odours, also." "No, indeed!" replied Socrates. "For just as one kind of dress looks well on a woman and another kind on a man, so the odours appropriate to men and to women are diverse. No man, surely, ever uses perfume for a man's sake. And as for the women, particularly if they chance to be young brides, like the wives of Niceratus[1] here and Critobulus, how can they want any additional perfume? For that is what they are redolent of, themselves.[2] The odour of the olive oil, on the other hand, that is used in the gymnasium is more delightful when you have it on your flesh than perfume is to women, and when you lack it, the want of it is more keenly felt. Indeed, so far as perfume is concerned, when once a man has anointed himself with it, the scent forthwith is all one whether he be slave or free; but the odours that result from

πρῶτον χρηστῶν[1] καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ δέονται, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡδεῖαί τε καὶ ἐλευθέριοι ἔσεσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν νέοις μὲν ἂν εἴη ταῦτα· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μηκέτι γυμναζομένους τίνος ὄζειν δεήσει;

Καλοκἀγαθίας νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης.

Καὶ πόθεν ἄν τις τοῦτο τὸ χρῖμα λάβοι;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ παρὰ τῶν μυροπωλῶν.

Ἀλλὰ πόθεν δή;

Ὁ μὲν Θέογνις ἔφη,

> Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι· ἢν δὲ κακοῖσι
> συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

5 Καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν, Ἀκούεις ταῦτα, ὦ υἱέ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ χρῆταί γε. ἐπεὶ γοῦν νικηφόρος ἐβούλετο τοῦ παγκρατίου γενέσθαι, σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος . . . σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος[2] αὖ, ὃς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ ἱκανώτατος εἶναι εἰς τὸ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, τούτῳ συνέσται.

6 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλοὶ ἐφθέγξαντο· καὶ ὁ μέν τις αὐτῶν εἶπε, Ποῦ οὖν εὑρήσει τούτου διδάσκαλον; ὁ δέ τις ὡς οὐδὲ διδακτὸν τοῦτο εἴη, ἕτερος δέ
7 τις ὡς εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο μαθητόν.[3] ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὴ ἀμφίλογόν

[1] *πρῶτον χρηστῶν* Athenaeus; *πρῶτον* MSS.
[2] The MSS. read *σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος* only once. There is obviously something else lost from the text, for the approximate sense of which see the translation.
[3] *μαθητόν* Stephanus; *μαθητέον* MSS.

the exertions of freemen demand primarily noble pursuits engaged in for many years if they are to be sweet and suggestive of freedom."

"That may do for young fellows," observed Lycon; "but what of us who no longer exercise in the gymnasia? What should be our distinguishing scent?"

"Nobility of soul, surely!" replied Socrates.

"And where may a person get this ointment?"

"Certainly not from the perfumers," said Socrates.

"But where, then?"

"Theognis has said:[1]

'Good men teach good; society with bad
Will but corrupt the good mind that you had.'"

"Do you hear that, my son?" asked Lycon.

"Yes, indeed he does," said Socrates; "and he puts it into practice, too. At any rate, when he desired to become a prize-winner in the pancratium, [he availed himself of your help to discover the champions in that sport and associated with them; and so, if he desires to learn the ways of virtue,][2] he will again with your help seek out the man who seems to him most proficient in this way of life and will associate with him."

Thereupon there was a chorus of voices. "Where will he find an instructor in this subject?" said one. Another maintained that it could not be taught at all. A third asserted that this could be learned if anything could. "Since this is a debatable matter," suggested Socrates, "let us reserve it for another

[1] Theognis 35 f. (with μαθήσεαι for διδάξεαι).

[2] The words in brackets are meant to represent approximately the sense of words that have been lost in the manuscripts.

ἐστιν, εἰς αὖθις ἀποθώμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προκείμενα ἀποτελῶμεν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε τήνδε τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα ἐφεστηκυῖαν καὶ τροχούς τινα αὐτῇ προσφέροντα.

8 Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ηὔλει μὲν αὐτῇ ἡ ἑτέρα, παρεστηκὼς δέ τις τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς μέχρι δώδεκα. ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα ἅμα τε ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ἀνερρίπτει δονουμένους συντεκμαιρομένη ὅσον ἔδει ῥιπτεῖν ὕψος ὡς ἐν ῥυθμῷ δέχεσθαι αὐτούς.

9 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἐν πολλοῖς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοις δῆλον καὶ ἐν οἷς δ᾽ ἡ παῖς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὖσα τυγχάνει, γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος δεῖται. ὥστε εἴ τις ὑμῶν γυναῖκα ἔχει, θαρρῶν διδασκέτω ὅ τι βούλοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτῇ ἐπισταμένῃ χρῆσθαι.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτω γιγνώσκων οὐ καὶ σὺ παιδεύεις Ξανθίππην, ἀλλὰ χρῇ γυναικὶ τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, χαλεπωτάτῃ;

Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὁρῶ καὶ τοὺς ἱππικοὺς βουλομένους γενέσθαι οὐ τοὺς εὐπειθεστάτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς ἵππους κτωμένους. νομίζουσι γάρ, ἢν τοὺς τοιούτους δύνωνται κατέχειν, ῥᾳδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἵπποις χρήσεσθαι. κἀγὼ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀνθρώποις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν ταύτην κέκτημαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ ταύτην ὑποίσω, ῥᾳδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συνέσομαι.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἀπὸ[1] τοῦ σκοποῦ ἔδοξεν εἰρῆσθαι.

[1] ἄπο Sauppe.

time; for the present let us finish what we have on hand. For I see that the dancing girl here is standing ready, and that some one is bringing her some hoops."

At that, the other girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute, and a boy at her elbow handed her up the hoops until he had given her twelve. She took these and as she danced kept throwing them whirling into the air, observing the proper height to throw them so as to catch them in a regular rhythm.

As Socrates looked on he remarked: "This girl's feat, gentlemen, is only one of many proofs that woman's nature is really not a whit inferior to man's, except in its lack of judgment and physical strength. So if any one of you has a wife, let him confidently set about teaching her whatever he would like to have her know."

"If that is your view, Socrates," asked Antisthenes, "how does it come that you don't practise what you preach by yourself educating Xanthippe, but live with a wife who is the hardest to get along with of all the women there are—yes, or all that ever were, I suspect, or ever will be?"

"Because," he replied, "I observe that men who wish to become expert horsemen do not get the most docile horses but rather those that are high-mettled, believing that if they can manage this kind, they will easily handle any other. My course is similar. Mankind at large is what I wish to deal and associate with; and so I have got her, well assured that if I can endure her, I shall have no difficulty in my relations with all the rest of human kind."

These words, in the judgment of the guests, did not go wide of the mark.

11 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κύκλος εἰσηνέχθη περίμεστος ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν. εἰς οὖν ταῦτα ἡ ὀρχηστρὶς ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὥστε οἱ μὲν θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μή τι πάθῃ, ἡ δὲ θαρρούντως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ταῦτα διεπράττετο.

12 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης καλέσας τὸν Ἀντισθένην εἶπεν· Οὔτοι τούς γε θεωμένους τάδε ἀντιλέξειν ἔτι οἴομαι ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὁπότε αὕτη καίπερ γυνὴ οὖσα οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξίφη ἵεται.

13 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν· Ἆρ' οὖν καὶ τῷδε τῷ Συρακοσίῳ κράτιστον ἐπιδείξαντι τῇ πόλει τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν διδῶσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναῖοι χρήματα, ποιήσειν πάντας Ἀθηναίους τολμᾶν ὁμόσε ταῖς λόγχαις ἰέναι;

14 Καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν θεῴμην Πείσανδρον τὸν δημηγόρον μανθάνοντα κυβιστᾶν εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας, ὃς νῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λόγχαις ἀντιβλέπειν οὐδὲ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐθέλει.

15 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ παῖς ὠρχήσατο. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν, Εἴδετ', ἔφη, ὡς καλὸς ὁ παῖς ὢν ὅμως σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων φαίνεται ἢ ὅταν ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ;

Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἐπαινοῦντι ἔοικας τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον.

16 Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλο

But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the onlookers, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. She, however, went through this performance fearlessly and safely.

Then Socrates, drawing Antisthenes' attention, said: "Witnesses of this feat, surely, will never again deny, I feel sure, that courage, like other things, admits of being taught, when this girl, in spite of her sex, leaps so boldly in among the swords!"

"Well, then," asked Antisthenes, "had this Syracusan not better exhibit his dancer to the city and announce that if the Athenians will pay him for it he will give all the men of Athens the courage to face the spear?"

"Well said!" interjected Philip. "I certainly should like to see Peisander the politician[1] learning to turn somersaults among the knives; for, as it is now, his inability to look spears in the face makes him shrink even from joining the army."

At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, "Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he appears even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he is at rest?"

"It looks to me," said Charmides, "as if you were puffing the dancing-master."

"Assuredly," replied Socrates; "and I remarked

[1] Peisander, a demagogue of some power in the unsettled times of the Peloponnesian War, had a number of weak points, especially his military record, which were exposed by the comic poets Eupolis, Hermippus, Plato, and Aristophanes. Cf. Aristophanes *Birds*, 1553 ff.

*τι προσενενόησα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀργὸν τοῦ σώματος ἐν
τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν, ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ τράχηλος καὶ σκέλη
καὶ χεῖρες ἐγυμνάζοντο, ὥσπερ χρὴ ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν
μέλλοντα εὐφορώτερον τὸ σῶμα ἕξειν. καὶ ἐγὼ
μέν, ἔφη, πάνυ ἂν ἡδέως, ὦ Συρακόσιε, μάθοιμι
τὰ σχήματα παρὰ σοῦ.*

Καὶ ὅς, Τί οὖν *χρήσει αὐτοῖς; ἔφη.*

Ὀρχήσομαι νὴ Δία.

17 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγέλασαν ἅπαντες. καὶ ὁ Σωκρά-
της μάλα ἐσπουδακότι τῷ προσώπῳ, Γελᾶτε, ἔφη,
ἐπ' ἐμοί; πότερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰ βούλομαι γυμνα-
ζόμενος μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν ἢ εἰ ἥδιον ἐσθίειν καὶ
καθεύδειν ἢ εἰ τοιούτων γυμνασίων ἐπιθυμῶ, μὴ
ὥσπερ οἱ δολιχοδρόμοι τὰ σκέλη μὲν παχύ-
νονται, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους λεπτύνονται, μηδ' ὥσπερ
οἱ πύκται τοὺς μὲν ὤμους παχύνονται, τὰ δὲ
σκέλη λεπτύνονται, ἀλλὰ παντὶ διαπονῶν τῷ
18 σώματι πᾶν ἰσόρροπον ποιεῖν; ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ
γελᾶτε ὅτι οὐ δεήσει με συγγυμναστὴν ζητεῖν,
οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ πρεσβύτην ὄντα ἀποδύεσθαι, ἀλλ'
ἀρκέσει μοι οἶκος ἑπτάκλινος, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν
τῷδε τῷ παιδὶ ἤρκεσε τόδε τὸ οἴκημα ἐνιδρῶσαι,
καὶ χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν στέγῃ γυμνάσομαι, ὅταν δὲ
19 ἄγαν καῦμα ᾖ, ἐν σκιᾷ; ἢ τόδε γελᾶτε, εἰ μείζω
τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἔχων μετριωτέραν βούλο-
μαι ποιῆσαι αὐτήν; ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ἔναγχος
ἕωθεν Χαρμίδης οὑτοσὶ κατέλαβέ με ὀρχού-
μενον;

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης· καὶ τὸ μέν γε

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[1] Literally, *a room of seven couches*. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* VIII, 13.

something else, too,—that no part of his body was idle during the dance, but neck, legs, and hands were all active together. And that is the way a person must dance who intends to increase the suppleness of his body. And for myself," he continued, addressing the Syracusan, "I should be delighted to learn the figures from you."

"What use will you make of them?" the other asked.

"I will dance, forsooth."

This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: "You are laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? Or are you laughing because I shall not need to hunt up a partner to exercise with, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but shall find a moderate-sized room[1] large enough for me (just as but now this room was large enough for the lad here to get up a sweat in), and because in winter I shall exercise under cover, and when it is very hot, in the shade? Or is this what provokes your laughter, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?"

"Indeed I did," said Charmides; "and at first I

πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἔδεισα μὴ μαίνοιο· ἐπεὶ δέ σου ἤκουσα ὅμοια οἷς νῦν λέγεις, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε ὠρχούμην μὲν οὔ, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοῦτ᾿ ἔμαθον, ἐχειρονόμουν δέ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἠπιστάμην.

20 Νὴ Δί᾿, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὕτω τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὤμοις φαίνῃ ἰσοφόρα ἔχειν ὥστε δοκεῖς ἐμοί, κἂν εἰ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀφισταίης[1] ὥσπερ ἄρτους τὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, ἀζήμιος ἂν γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας εἶπεν· Ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐμὲ μὲν παρακάλει, ὅταν μέλλῃς μανθάνειν ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἵνα σοι ἀντιστοιχῶ τε καὶ συμμανθάνω.

21 Ἄγε δή, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐλησάτω, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ὀρχήσωμαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δ᾿ ἀνέστη, διῆλθε μιμούμενος τήν τε τοῦ
22 παιδὸς καὶ τὴν τῆς παιδὸς ὄρχησιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπῄνεσαν ὡς ὁ παῖς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων ἐφαίνετο, ἀνταπέδειξεν ὅ τι κινοίη τοῦ σώματος ἅπαν τῆς φύσεως γελοιότερον· ὅτι δ᾿ ἡ παῖς εἰς τοὔπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο, ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μιμεῖσθαι[2] ἐπειρᾶτο. τέλος δ᾿ ὅτι τὸν παῖδ᾿ ἐπῄνουν ὡς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζοι, κελεύσας τὴν αὐλητρίδα θάττονα ῥυθμὸν ἐπάγειν ἵει ἅμα πάντα καὶ σκέλη καὶ χεῖρας καὶ
23 κεφαλήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπειρήκει, κατακλινόμενος

[1] ἀφισταίης Mehler; ἀφιστῴης MSS.
[2] The MSS. add τροχούς, which Bornemann deleted.

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[1] Since the Athenians were dependent largely on imported grain, they developed an elaborate system of regulations, administered by several sets of officials, to protect the consumers

was dumbfounded and feared that you were going stark mad; but when I heard you say much the same thing as you did just now, I myself went home, and although I did not dance, for I had never learned how, I practised shadow-boxing, for I knew how to do that."

"Undoubtedly," said Philip; "at any rate, your legs appear so nearly equal in weight to your shoulders that I imagine if you were to go to the market commissioners and put your lower parts in the scale against your upper parts, as if they were loaves of bread,[1] they would let you off without a fine."

"When you are ready to begin your lessons, Socrates," said Callias, "pray invite me, so that I may be opposite you in the figures and may learn with you."

"Come," said Philip, "let me have some flute music, so that I may dance too."

So he got up and mimicked in detail the dancing of both the boy and the girl. To begin with, since the company had applauded the way the boy's natural beauty was increased by the grace of the dancing postures, Philip made a burlesque out of the performance by rendering every part of his body that was in motion more grotesque than it naturally was; and whereas the girl had bent backward until she resembled a hoop, he tried to do the same by bending forward. Finally, since they had given the boy applause for putting every part of his body into play in the dance, he told the flute girl to hit up the time faster, and danced away, flinging out legs, hands, and head all at the same time; and when he

from speculation and extortion. One set of officials controlled the weight and the price of bread.

εἶπε· Τεκμήριον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι καλῶς γυμνάζει καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ὀρχήματα. ἐγὼ γοῦν διψῶ· καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐγχεάτω μοι τὴν μεγάλην φιάλην.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ ἡμῖν γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς διψῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ γελῶντες.

24 Ὁ δ' αὖ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ πίνειν μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐμοὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φιλοφρο-
25 σύνας ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα ἐγείρει. δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σώματα[1] ταὐτὰ πάσχειν ἅπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων.[2] καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ ἄγαν ἀθρόως ποτίζῃ, οὐ δύναται ὀρθοῦσθαι οὐδὲ ταῖς αὔραις διαπνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δ' ὅσῳ ἥδεται τοσοῦτο πίνῃ, καὶ μάλα ὀρθά τε αὔξεται καὶ θάλλοντα ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν
26 καρπογονίαν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἢν μὲν ἀθρόον τὸ ποτὸν ἐγχεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα· ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψακάζωσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργιείοις ῥήμασιν εἴπω, οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιξόμεθα.

[1] σώματα Athenaeus; συμπόσια MSS. and Stobaeus.
[2] τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων MSS.; Sauppe adopted the suggestion τὰ ἐν γῇ φυόμενα.

[1] Apparently a reminiscence of Aristophanes' *Knights*, 96, 114.

was quite exhausted, he exclaimed as he laid himself down: "Here is proof, gentlemen, that my style of dancing, also, gives excellent exercise; it has certainly given me a thirst; so let the servant fill me up the big goblet."

"Certainly," replied Callias; "and the same for us, for we are thirsty with laughing at you."

Here Socrates again interposed. "Well, gentlemen," said he, "so far as drinking is concerned, you have my hearty approval; for wine does of a truth 'moisten the soul'[1] and lull our griefs to sleep just as the mandragora does with men, at the same time awakening kindly feelings as oil quickens a flame. However, I suspect that men's bodies fare the same as those of plants that grow in the ground. When God gives the plants water in floods to drink, they cannot stand up straight or let the breezes blow through them; but when they drink only as much as they enjoy, they grow up very straight and tall and come to full and abundant fruitage. So it is with us. If we pour ourselves immense draughts, it will be no long time before both our bodies and our minds reel, and we shall not be able even to draw breath, much less to speak sensibly; but if the servants frequently 'besprinkle' us—if I too may use a Gorgian[2] expression—with small cups, we shall thus not be driven on by the wine to a state of intoxication, but instead shall be brought by its gentle persuasion to a more sportive mood."

[2] Gorgias was a famous contemporary orator and teacher of rhetoric, whose speeches, though dazzling to inexperienced audiences, were over-formal and ornate. Some of his metaphors drew the criticism of Aristotle as being far-fetched. Cf. *Rhet.* III, iii, 4 (1406^b 4 ff.).

27 Ἐδόκει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πᾶσι· προσέθηκε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς χρὴ τοὺς οἰνοχόους μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἁρματηλάτας, θᾶττον περιελαύνοντας τὰς κύλικας. οἱ μὲν δὴ οἰνοχόοι οὕτως ἐποίουν.

III. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνηρμοσμένῃ τῇ λύρᾳ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐκιθάρισεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ᾖσεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐπῄνεσαν μὲν ἅπαντες· ὁ δὲ Χαρμίδης καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔφη τὸν οἶνον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν τε παίδων τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὰς μὲν λύπας κοιμίζειν, τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐγείρειν.

2 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὗτοι μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκανοὶ τέρπειν ἡμᾶς φαίνονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ βελτίονες οἰόμεθα εἶναι· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὖν εἰ μηδ' ἐπιχειρήσομεν συνόντες ὠφελεῖν τι ἢ εὐφραίνειν ἀλλήλους;

Ἐντεῦθεν εἶπον πολλοί, Σὺ τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐξηγοῦ ποίων λόγων ἁπτόμενοι μάλιστ' ἂν ταῦτα ποιοῖμεν.

3 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀπολάβοιμι παρὰ Καλλίου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἔφη γὰρ δήπου, εἰ συνδειπνοῖμεν, ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὑτοῦ σοφίαν.

Καὶ ἐπιδείξω γε, ἔφη, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες εἰς μέσον φέρητε ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐπίστασθε ἀγαθόν.

Ἀλλ' οὐδείς σοι, ἔφη, ἀντιλέγει τὸ μὴ οὐ λέξειν ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἡγεῖται πλείστου ἄξιον ἐπίστασθαι.

4 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ᾧ μέγι-

This resolution received a unanimous vote, with an amendment added by Philip to the effect that the wine-pourers should emulate skilful charioteers by driving the cups around with ever increasing speed. This the wine-pourers proceeded to do.

III. After this the boy, attuning his lyre to the flute, played and sang, and won the applause of all; and brought from Charmides the remark, "It seems to me, gentlemen, that, as Socrates said of the wine, so this blending of the young people's beauty and of the notes of the music lulls one's griefs to sleep and awakens the goddess of Love."

Then Socrates resumed the conversation. "These people, gentlemen," said he, "show their competence to give us pleasure; and yet we, I am sure, think ourselves considerably superior to them. Will it not be to our shame, therefore, if we do not make even an attempt, while here together, to be of some service or to give some pleasure one to another?"

At that many spoke up: "You lead the way, then, and tell us what to begin talking about to realize most fully what you have in mind."

"For my part," he answered, "I should like to have Callias redeem his promise; for he said, you remember, that if we would take dinner with him, he would give us an exhibition of his profundity."

"Yes," rejoined Callias; "and I will do so, if the rest of you will also lay before us any serviceable knowledge that you severally possess."

"Well," answered Socrates, "no one objects to telling what he considers the most valuable knowledge in his possession."

"Very well, then," said Callias, "I will now tell

στον φρονῶ. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ οἶμαι ἱκανὸς εἶναι βελτίους ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε, Πότερον τέχνην τινὰ βαναυσικὴν ἢ καλοκἀγαθίαν διδάσκων;

Εἰ καλοκἀγαθία ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἥ γε ἀναμφιλογωτάτη· ἐπεί τοι ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ σοφία ἔστιν ὅτε βλαβερὰ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν συμμίγνυται τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

5 Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν καὶ ὑμῶν[1] ἕκαστος εἴπῃ ὅ τι ὠφέλιμον ἔχει, τότε κἀγὼ οὐ φθονήσω εἰπεῖν τὴν τέχνην δι' ἧς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζομαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ αὖ, ἔφη, λέγε, ὦ Νικήρατε, ἐπὶ ποίᾳ ἐπιστήμῃ μέγα φρονεῖς.

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην, ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν· καὶ νῦν δυναίμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.

6 Ἐκεῖνο δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέληθέ σε ὅτι καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ πάντες ἐπίστανται ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη;

Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, λελήθοι ἀκροώμενόν γε αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἀν' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν;

Οἶσθά τι οὖν ἔθνος, ἔφη, ἠλιθιώτερον ῥαψῳδῶν;

[1] ὑμῶν Castalio; ἡμῶν MSS.

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[1] The word δικαιοσύνη, translated here by *righteousness*, is sometimes well represented by *justice* or *honesty*. It is the virtue discussed by Plato in the *Republic* and by Aristotle in the fifth book of his *Ethics*.

you what I take greatest pride in. It is that I believe I have the power to make men better."

"How?" asked Antisthenes. "By teaching them some manual trade, or by teaching nobility of character?"

"The latter, if righteousness[1] is the same thing as nobility."

"Certainly it is," replied Antisthenes, "and the least debatable kind, too; for though courage and wisdom appear at times to work injury both to one's friends and to the state, righteousness and unrighteousness never overlap at a single point."

"Well, then, when every one of you has named the benefit he can confer, I will not begrudge describing the art that gives me the success that I speak of. And so, Niceratus," he suggested, "it is your turn; tell us what kind of knowledge you take pride in."

"My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man," said Niceratus, "and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart."

"But have you failed to observe," questioned Antisthenes, "that the rhapsodes,[2] too, all know these poems?"

"How could I," he replied, "when I listen to their recitations nearly every day?"

"Well, do you know any tribe of men," went on the other, "more stupid than the rhapsodes?"

[2] These professional reciters of epic poetry are represented as being criticized by Socrates, in much the same way as here, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, IV. ii. 10 and in Plato's *Ion*.

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Δῆλον γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται. σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδέν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λέ-

7 ληθε. τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγιστον φρονεῖς;

Ἐπὶ κάλλει, ἔφη.

Ἦ οὖν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἕξεις λέγειν ὅτι τῷ σῷ κάλλει ἱκανὸς εἶ βελτίους ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν;

Εἰ δὲ μή, δῆλόν γε ὅτι φαῦλος φανοῦμαι.

8 Τί γὰρ σύ, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες;

Ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, ἔφη.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἑρμογένης ἀνήρετο εἰ πολὺ εἴη αὐτῷ ἀργύριον. ὁ δὲ ἀπώμοσε μηδὲ ὀβολόν.

Ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν κέκτησαι;

Ἴσως ἄν, ἔφη, Αὐτολύκῳ τούτῳ ἱκανὴ γένοιτο ἐγκονίσασθαι.

9 Ἀκουστέον ἂν εἴη καὶ σοῦ. τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Χαρμίδη, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς;

Ἐγὼ αὖ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πενίᾳ μέγα φρονῶ.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπ' εὐχαρίστῳ γε πράγματι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἥκιστα μὲν ἐπίφθονον, ἥκιστα δὲ περιμάχητον, καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὂν σῴζεται καὶ ἀμελούμενον ἰσχυρότερον γίγνεται.

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[1] Critobulus seems to imply that beauty is his only resource.

[2] The reference is to the handful or so of dry sand that an athlete put on after oiling his skin.

"No, indeed," answered Niceratus; "not I, I am sure."

"No," said Socrates; "and the reason is clear: they do not know the inner meaning of the poems. But you have paid a good deal of money to Stesimbrotus, Anaximander, and many other Homeric critics, so that nothing of their valuable teaching can have escaped your knowledge. But what about you, Critobulus?" he continued. "What do you take greatest pride in?"

"In beauty," he replied.

"What?" exclaimed Socrates. "Are you too going to be able to maintain that you can make us better, and by means of your beauty?"

"Why, otherwise, it is clear enough that I shall cut but an indifferent figure."[1]

"And you, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "what do you take pride in?"

"In wealth," he replied.

Hermogenes asked him whether he had a large amount of money; he swore that he did not have even a penny.

"You own a great deal of land, then?"

"Well, perhaps it might prove big enough," said he, "for Autolycus here to sand himself in."[2]

"It looks as if we should have to hear from you, too. And how about you, Charmides?" he continued. "What do you take pride in?"

"My pride," said he, "on the contrary, is in my poverty."

"A charming thing, upon my word!" exclaimed Socrates. "It seldom causes envy or is a bone of contention; and it is kept safe without the necessity of a guard, and grows sturdier by neglect!"

10 Σὺ δὲ δή, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες;

Καὶ ὃς μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπάσας τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἐπὶ μαστροπείᾳ, εἶπεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, Ὑμεῖς μὲν γελᾶτε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ πάνυ ἂν πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνοιμι, εἰ βουλοίμην χρῆσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ.

11 Σύ γε μὴν δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Λύκων πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ γελωτοποιεῖν μέγα φρονεῖς.

Δικαιότερόν γ᾽, ἔφη, οἴομαι, ἢ Καλλιππίδης ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὃς ὑπερσεμνύνεται ὅτι δύναται πολλοὺς κλαίοντας καθίζειν.

12 Οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέξεις, ὦ Λύκων, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς;

Καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι[1] ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ υἱεῖ;

Οὗτός γε μήν, ἔφη τις, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ νικηφόρος εἶναι.

Καὶ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος ἀνερυθριάσας εἶπε, Μὰ Δί᾽ οὐκ ἔγωγε.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἡσθέντες ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν, ἤρετό τις αὐτόν, Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ μήν, ὦ Αὐτόλυκε; ὁ δ᾽ εἶπεν, Ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἅμα ἐνεκλίθη αὐτῷ.

Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἰδών, Ἆρ᾽ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὦ Λύκων, ὅτι πλουσιώτατος εἶ ἀνθρώπων;

Μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη, τοῦτο μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα.

Ἀλλὰ λανθάνει σε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο τὰ βασιλέως χρήματα ἀντὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ;

[1] ὅτι added by Stephanus.

[1] Callippides was regarded at this time and afterward as perhaps the most illustrious tragic actor of his time.

"But what of you, Socrates?" said Callias. "What are you proud of?"

Socrates drew up his face into a very solemn expression, and answered, "The trade of procurer."

After the rest had had a laugh at him, "Very well," said he, "you may laugh, but I know that I could make a lot of money if I cared to follow the trade."

"As for you," said Lycon, addressing Philip, "it is obvious that your pride is in your jesting."

"And my pride is better founded, I think," replied Philip, "than that of Callippides, the actor,[1] who is consumed with vanity because he can fill the seats with audiences that weep."

"Will you also not tell us, Lycon," said Antisthenes, "what it is that you take pride in?"

"Don't you all know," he answered, "that it is in my son here?"

"And as for him," said one, "it is plain that he is proud at having taken a prize."

At this Autolycus blushed and said, "No, indeed, not that."

All looked at him, delighted to hear him speak, and one asked, "What is it, then, Autolycus, that you are proud of?" and he answered, "My father," and with the words nestled close against him.

When Callias saw this, "Do you realize, Lycon," said he, "that you are the richest man in the world?"

"No, indeed," the other replied, "I certainly do not know that."

"Why, are you blind to the fact that you would not part with your son for the wealth of the Great King?"

Ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἴλημμαι, ἔφη, πλουσιώτατος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων ὤν.

14 Σὺ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες, ἐπὶ τίνι μάλιστα ἀγάλλῃ;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἐπὶ φίλων, ἔφη, ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐμοῦ ἐπιμέλονται.

Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν πάντες προσέβλεψαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἅμα ἤροντο εἰ καὶ σφίσι δηλώσει αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ φθονήσει.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου ἔλεξεν ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη ἡμῖν ἃ ἕκαστος ὑπέσχετο ἀποδεικνύναι ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιά ἐστιν.

Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐμοῦ πρῶτον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ὑμῶν ἀκούω ἀπορούντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοτέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πῶς, ὦ λῷστε; ἔφη.

Διδοὺς νὴ Δί' ἀργύριον.

2 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἐπαναστὰς μάλα ἐλεγκτικῶς αὐτὸν ἐπήρετο· Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ὦ Καλλία, πότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαλλαντίῳ τὸ δίκαιόν σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν;

Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἔφη.

Κἄπειτα σὺ εἰς τὸ βαλλάντιον διδοὺς ἀργύριον τὰς ψυχὰς δικαιοτέρας ποιεῖς;

Μάλιστα.

Πῶς;

Ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὡς ἔστιν ὅτου πριάμενοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἕξουσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακουργοῦντες κινδυνεύειν.

3 Ἦ καί σοι, ἔφη, ἀποδιδόασιν ὅ τι ἂν λάβωσι;

"I am caught," was the answer, "red-handed; it does look as if I were the richest man in the world."

"What about you, Hermogenes?" said Niceratus. "What do you delight in most?"

"In the goodness and the power of my friends," he answered, "and in the fact that with all their excellence they have regard for me."

Thereupon all eyes were turned toward him, and many speaking at once asked him whether he would not discover these friends to them; and he answered that he would not be at all loath to do so.

IV. At this point Socrates said: "I suspect that it remains now for each one of us to prove that what he engaged himself to champion is of real worth."

"You may hear me first," said Callias. "While I listen to your philosophical discussions of what righteousness is, I am all the time actually rendering men more righteous."

"How so, my good friend?" asked Socrates.

"Why, by giving them money."

Then Antisthenes got up and in a very argumentative fashion interrogated him. "Where do you think men harbour their righteousness, Callias, in their souls or in their purses?"

"In their souls," he replied.

"So you make their souls more righteous by putting money into their purses?"

"I surely do."

"How?"

"Because they know that they have the wherewithal to buy the necessities of life, and so they are reluctant to expose themselves to the hazards of crime."

"And do they repay you," he asked, "the money that they get from you?"

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή.

Τί δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου χάριτας;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι καὶ ἐχθιόνως ἔχουσιν ἢ πρὶν λαβεῖν.

Θαυμαστά γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἅμα εἰσβλέπων ὡς ἐλέγχων αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους δύνασαι δικαίους ποιεῖν αὐτούς, πρὸς δὲ σαυτὸν οὔ.

4 Καὶ τί τοῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, θαυμαστόν; οὐ καὶ τέκτονάς τε καὶ οἰκοδόμους πολλοὺς ὁρᾷς οἳ ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ποιοῦσιν οἰκίας, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ οὐ δύνανται ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐν μισθωταῖς οἰκοῦσι; καὶ ἀνάσχου μέντοι, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐλεγχόμενος.

5 Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀνεχέσθω μέντοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μάντεις λέγονται δήπου ἄλλοις μὲν προαγορεύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μὴ προορᾶν τὸ ἐπιόν.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν.

6 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Νικήρατος, Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ ἔσεσθε βελτίονες ἢν ἐμοὶ συνῆτε. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου ὅτι Ὅμηρος ὁ σοφώτατος πεποίηκε σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. ὅστις ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν βούληται ἢ οἰκονομικὸς ἢ δημηγορικὸς ἢ στρατηγικὸς γενέσθαι ἢ ὅμοιος Ἀχιλλεῖ ἢ Αἴαντι ἢ Νέστορι ἢ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἐμὲ θεραπευέτω. ἐγὼ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσταμαι.

Ἦ καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι οἶσθα ἐπαινέσαντα αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς βασιλεύς τε εἴη ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής;

[1] *Iliad*, iii. 179.

"Heavens, no!" he replied.

"Well, do they substitute thanks for money payment?"

"No, indeed, nor that either," he said. "On the contrary, some of them have an even greater dislike of me than before they got the money."

"It is remarkable," said Antisthenes, looking fixedly at him as though he had him in a corner, "that you can make them righteous toward others but not toward yourself."

"What is there remarkable about that?" asked Callias. "Do you not see plenty of carpenters, also, and architects that build houses for many another person but cannot do it for themselves, but live in rented houses? Come now, my captious friend, take your medicine and own that you are beaten."

"By all means," said Socrates, "let him do so. For even the soothsayers have the reputation, you know, of prophesying the future for others but of not being able to foresee their own fate."

Here the discussion of this point ended.

Then Niceratus remarked: "You may now hear me tell wherein you will be improved by associating with me. You know, doubtless, that the sage Homer has written about practically everything pertaining to man. Any one of you, therefore, who wishes to acquire the art of the householder, the political leader, or the general, or to become like Achilles or Ajax or Nestor or Odysseus, should seek my favour, for I understand all these things."

"Ha!" said Antisthenes; "do you understand how to play the king, too, knowing, as you do, that Homer praised Agamemnon[1] for being 'both goodly king and spearman strong'?"

Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὅτι ἁρματηλατοῦντα δεῖ ἐγγὺς μὲν τῆς στήλης κάμψαι,

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐυξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου
ἧκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῖιν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ' εἶξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσί.

7 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλο οἶδα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλ' ἔξεστι πειρᾶσθαι. εἶπε γάρ που Ὅμηρος, Ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῷ ὄψον. ἐὰν οὖν ἐνέγκῃ τις κρόμμυον, αὐτίκα μάλα τοῦτό γε ὠφελημένοι ἔσεσθε· ἥδιον γὰρ πίεσθε.

8 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ Νικήρατος κρομμύων ὄζων ἐπιθυμεῖ οἴκαδε ἐλθεῖν, ἵν' ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ πιστεύῃ μηδὲ[1] διανοηθῆναι μηδένα ἂν φιλῆσαι αὐτόν.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἄλλην που δόξαν γελοίαν κίνδυνος ἡμῖν προσλαβεῖν. ὄψον μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὄντως ἔοικεν εἶναι, ὡς κρόμμυόν γε οὐ μόνον σῖτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτὸν ἡδύνει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον τρωξόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ φήσει τις ἡμᾶς πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας ἡδυπαθεῖν.

9 Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. εἰς μὲν γὰρ μάχην ὁρμωμένῳ καλῶς ἔχει κρόμμυον ὑποτρώγειν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας σκόροδα σιτίσαντες συμβάλλουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἴσως βουλευόμεθα ὅπως φιλήσομέν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ μαχούμεθα.

[1] μηδὲ Mehler; μὴ MSS.

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[1] Cf. *Iliad*, xxiii. 323, 334. [2] *Iliad*, xxiii. 335–337.
[3] *Iliad*, xi. 630.

"Yes, indeed!" said he; "and I know also that in driving a chariot one must run close to the goal-post at the turn[1] and

'Himself lean lightly to the left within
The polished car, the right-hand trace-horse goad,
Urge him with shouts, and let him have the reins.'[2]

And beside this I know something else, which you may test immediately. For Homer says somewhere: 'An onion, too, a relish for the drink.'[3] Now if some one will bring an onion, you will receive this benefit, at any rate, without delay; for you will get more pleasure out of your drinking."

"Gentlemen," said Charmides, "Niceratus is intent on going home smelling of onions to make his wife believe that no one would even have conceived the thought of kissing him."

"Undoubtedly," said Socrates. "But we run the risk of getting a different sort of reputation, one that will bring us ridicule. For though the onion seems to be in the truest sense a relish, since it adds to our enjoyment not only of food, but also of drink, yet if we eat it not only with our dinner but after it as well, take care that some one does not say of us that on our visit to Callias we were merely indulging our appetites."

"Heaven forbid, Socrates!" was the reply. "I grant that when a man is setting out for battle, it is well for him to nibble an onion, just as some people give their game-cocks a feed of garlic before pitting them together in the ring; as for us, however, our plans perhaps look more to getting a kiss from some one than to fighting."

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτω πως ἐπαύσατο.
10 Ὁ δὲ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκοῦν αὖ ἐγὼ λέξω, ἔφη,
ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μέγα φρονῶ;
Λέγε, ἔφασαν.
Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ καλός εἰμι, ὡς οἴομαι, ὑμεῖς
ἂν δικαίως ἀπάτης δίκην ὑπέχοιτε· οὐδενὸς γὰρ
ὁρκίζοντος ἀεὶ ὀμνύοντες καλόν μέ φατε εἶναι.
κἀγὼ μέντοι πιστεύω. καλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
11 ὑμᾶς ἄνδρας νομίζω. εἰ δ' εἰμί τε τῷ ὄντι καλὸς
καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ πάσχετε οἷάπερ ἐγὼ
πρὸς τὸν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα καλὸν εἶναι, ὄμνυμι
πάντας θεοὺς μὴ ἑλέσθαι ἂν τὴν βασιλέως ἀρχὴν
12 ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὸς εἶναι. νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν
ἥδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τἆλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις καλά· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων
μᾶλλον δεξαίμην ἂν εἶναι ἢ Κλεινίου[1] ἑνὸς ὄντος·
ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὁρῶ,
ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα ὅτι μοι
13 Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσιν. ἄξιόν γε μὴν ἡμῖν τοῖς
καλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν
ἰσχυρὸν πονοῦντα δεῖ κτᾶσθαι τἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸν
ἀνδρεῖον κινδυνεύοντα, τὸν δέ γε σοφὸν λέγοντα·
ὁ δὲ καλὸς καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχων πάντ' ἂν διαπράξαι-
14 το. ἐγὼ γοῦν καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι χρήματα ἡδὺ
κτῆμα ἥδιον μὲν ἂν Κλεινίᾳ τὰ ὄντα διδοίην ἢ
ἕτερα παρ' ἄλλου λαμβάνοιμι, ἥδιον δ' ἂν δου-
λεύοιμι ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἴην, εἴ μου Κλεινίας ἄρχειν

[1] Κλεινίου Diogenes Laërtius; ἐκείνου or κείνου or ἐκείνου καὶ MSS.

[1] A young cousin of the brilliant and dissipated Alcibiades.

That was about the way the discussion of this point ended.

Then Critobulus said: "Shall I take my turn now and tell you my grounds for taking pride in my handsomeness?"

"Do," they said.

"Well, then, if I am not handsome, as I think I am, you could fairly be sued for misrepresentation; for though no one asks you for an oath, you are always swearing that I am handsome. And indeed I believe you; for I consider you to be honourable men. But, on the other hand, if I really am handsome and you have the same feelings toward me that I have toward the one who is handsome in my eyes, I swear by all the gods that I would not take the kingdom of Persia in exchange for the possession of beauty. For as it is, I would rather gaze at Cleinias[1] than at all the other beautiful objects in the world. I would rather be blind to all things else than to Cleinias alone. I chafe at both night and sleep because then I do not see him; I feel the deepest gratitude to day and the sun because they reveal Cleinias to me. We handsome people have a right to be proud of this fact, too, that whereas the strong man must get the good things of his desire by toil, and the brave man by adventure, and the wise man by his eloquence, the handsome person can attain all his ends without doing anything. So far as I, at least, am concerned, although I realize that money is a delightful possession, I should take more delight in giving what I have to Cleinias than in adding to my possessions from another person's; and I should take more delight in being a slave than in being a free man, if Cleinias would deign to be my

ἐθέλοι. καὶ γὰρ πονοίην ἂν ῥᾷον ἐκείνῳ ἢ ἀναπαυοίμην, καὶ κινδυνεύοιμ' ἂν πρὸ ἐκείνου ἥδιον ἢ
15 ἀκίνδυνος ζῴην. ὥστε εἰ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, μέγα φρονεῖς ὅτι δικαιοτέρους δύνασαι ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιότερος σοῦ εἰμι ἄγειν ἀνθρώπους. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπνεῖν τι ἡμᾶς τοὺς καλοὺς τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς ἐλευθεριωτέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ποιοῦμεν εἰς χρήματα, φιλοπονωτέρους δὲ καὶ φιλοκαλωτέρους ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, καὶ μὴν αἰδημονεστέρους τε καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους, οἵ γε καὶ ὧν δέονται μά-
16 λιστα ταῦτ' αἰσχύνονται. μαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μὴ τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἱρούμενοι. ἐγὼ γοῦν μετὰ Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πυρὸς ἰοίην· οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὥστε μηκέτι ἀπόρει, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴ τι
17 τοὐμὸν κάλλος ἀνθρώπους ὠφελήσει. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι ταύτῃ γε ἀτιμαστέον τὸ κάλλος ὡς ταχὺ παρακμάζον, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλός, οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτης. τεκμήριον δέ· θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοὺς καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται, ὡς συμπαρομαρ-
18 τοῦντος πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ κάλλους. εἰ δὲ ἡδὺ τὸ παρ' ἑκόντων διαπράττεσθαι ὧν τις δέοιτο, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ νυνὶ θᾶττον ἂν ἐγὼ καὶ σιωπῶν πείσαιμι τὸν παῖδα τόνδε καὶ τὴν παῖδα φιλῆσαί με ἢ σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγοις.

19 Τί τοῦτο; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ καλλίων ὢν ταῦτα κομπάζεις.

master. For I should find it easier to toil for him than to rest, and it would be more delightful to risk my life for his sake than to live in safety. And so, Callias, if you are proud of your ability to make people more righteous, I have a better 'right' than you to claim that I can influence men toward every sort of virtue. For since we handsome men exert a certain inspiration upon the amorous, we make them more generous in money matters, more strenuous and heroic amid dangers, yes, and more modest and self-controlled also; for they feel abashed about the very things that they want most. Madness is in those people, too, who do not elect the handsome men as generals; I certainly would go through fire with Cleinias, and I know that you would, also, with me. Therefore, Socrates, do not puzzle any more over the question whether or not my beauty will be of any benefit to men. But more than that, beauty is not to be contemned on this ground, either, that it soon passes its prime; for just as we recognize beauty in a boy, so we do in a youth, a full-grown man, or an old man. Witness the fact that in selecting garland-bearers for Athena they choose beautiful old men, thus intimating that beauty attends every period of life. Furthermore, if it is pleasurable to attain one's desires with the good will of the giver, I know very well that at this very moment, without uttering a word, I could persuade this boy or this girl to give me a kiss sooner than you could, Socrates, no matter how long and profoundly you might argue."

"How now?" exclaimed Socrates. "You boast as though you actually thought yourself a handsomer man than me."

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἦ πάντων Σειληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς αἴσχιστος ἂν εἴην.

Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ ἐτύγχανε προσεμφερὴς τούτοις ὤν.[1]

20 Ἄγε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅπως μεμνήσει διακριθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κάλλους, ἐπειδὰν οἱ προκείμενοι λόγοι περιέλθωσι. κρινάτω δ' ἡμᾶς μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὕσπερ σὺ οἴει ἐπιθυμεῖν σε φιλῆσαι.

21 Κλεινίᾳ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαις;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, Οὐ γὰρ παύσῃ σὺ Κλεινίου μεμνημένος;

Ἢν δὲ μὴ ὀνομάζω, ἧττόν τί με οἴει μεμνῆσθαι αὐτοῦ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἴδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἧττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδώλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην;

22 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπέλαβε, Τί δῆτα οὕτως ὅμοιον εἴδωλον ἔχων πράγματά μοι παρέχεις ἄγεις τέ μ'[2] αὐτὸν ὅπου ὄψει;

Ὅτι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ εἰδώλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει, πόθον δὲ ἐμποιεῖ.

[1] Sauppe brackets this sentence as an interpolation.
[2] τέ μ'; τε MSS.

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[1] This is regarded by some as a comment interpolated in the text, though doubtless true enough. Plato (*Symp.* 215 A, B, E; 216 C, D; 221 D, E; cf. 222 D) represents Alcibiades as likening Socrates to the Sileni and particularly to the Satyr Marsyas. Vase paintings and statues give an idea of the Greek conception of their coarse features. They regularly

"Of course," was Critobulus's reply; "otherwise I should be the ugliest of all the Satyrs ever on the stage."

Now Socrates, as fortune would have it, really resembled these creatures.[1]

"Come, come," said Socrates; "see that you remember to enter a beauty contest with me when the discussion now under way has gone the rounds. And let our judges be not Alexander, Priam's son,[2] but these very persons whom you consider eager to give you a kiss."

"Would you not entrust the arbitrament to Cleinias, Socrates?"

"Aren't you ever going to get your mind off Cleinias?" was the rejoinder.

"If I refrain from mentioning his name, do you suppose that I shall have him any the less in mind? Do you not know that I have so clear an image of him in my heart that had I ability as a sculptor or a painter I could produce a likeness of him from this image that would be quite as close as if he were sitting for me in person?"

"Why do you annoy me, then," was Socrates' retort, "and keep taking me about to places where you can see him in person, if you possess so faithful an image of him?"

"Because, Socrates, the sight of him in person has the power to delight one, whereas the sight of the image does not give pleasure, but implants a craving for him."

formed the chorus in the Satyr-plays that were given in connection with tragedies.

[2] Usually called Paris; the judge of beauty when Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite appealed for a decision.

23 Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ πρὸς σοῦ ποιῶ τὸ περιιδεῖν Κριτόβουλον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκπλαγέντα.

Δοκεῖς γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξ οὗ ἐμοὶ σύνεστιν οὕτω διατεθῆναι αὐτόν;

Ἀλλὰ πότε μήν;

Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἴουλος καθέρπει, Κλεινίᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄπισθεν ἤδη ἀναβαίνει; οὗτος οὖν συμφοιτῶν εἰς ταὐτὰ διδα-
24 σκαλεῖα ἐκείνῳ τότε ἰσχυρῶς προσεκαύθη. ἃ δὴ αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ παρέδωκέ μοι αὐτόν, εἴ τι δυναίμην ὠφελῆσαι. καὶ μέντοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἤδη ἔχει. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Γοργόνας θεώμενοι λιθίνως ἔβλεπε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδαμοῦ[1] ἀπῄει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ δὴ εἶδον αὐτὸν καὶ σκαρδα-
25 μύξαντα. καίτοι νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοί γ', ἔφη, ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, οὗτος καὶ πεφιληκέναι τὸν Κλεινίαν· οὗ ἔρωτος οὐδέν ἐστι δεινότερον ὑπέκκαυμα. καὶ γὰρ ἄπληστον καὶ
26 ἐλπίδας τινὰς γλυκείας παρέχει.[2] οὗ ἕνεκα ἀφεκτέον ἐγώ φημι εἶναι φιλημάτων ὡραίων τῷ σωφρονεῖν δυνησομένῳ.

27 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τί δή ποτε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡμᾶς μὲν οὕτω τοὺς φίλους μορμολύτ-

[1] λιθίνως οὐδαμοῦ MSS. (one omitting οὐδαμοῦ); λίθινος (after the Aldine ed.) Sauppe; οὐδαμοῦ L. Dindorf.

[2] The MSS. add here the following sentence (probably an interpolation): ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μόνον πάντων ἔργων τὸ τοῖς στόμασι [so Wyttenbach for σώμασι of the MSS.] συμψαύειν ὁμώνυμον εἶναι τῷ ταῖς ψυχαῖς φιλεῖσθαι ἐντιμότερόν ἐστιν. "Possibly the fact also that of all our acts that of touching one another with the lips is the only one which goes by a name equivocal with that expressing heartfelt affection causes

"For my part, Socrates," said Hermogenes, "I do not regard it as at all like you to countenance such a mad passion of love in Critobulus."

"What? Do you suppose," asked Socrates, "that this condition has arisen since he began associating with me?"

"If not, when did it?"

"Do you not notice that the soft down is just beginning to grow down in front of his ears, while that of Cleinias is already creeping up the nape of his neck? Well, then, this hot flame of his was kindled in the days when they used to go to school together. It was the discovery of this that caused his father to put him into my hands, in the hope that I might do him some good. And without question he is already much improved. For awhile ago he was like those who look at the Gorgons—he would gaze at Cleinias with a fixed and stony stare and would never leave his presence; but now I have seen him actually close his eyes in a wink. But to tell you the truth, gentlemen," he continued, "by Heaven! it does look to me—to speak confidentially—as if he had also kissed Cleinias; and there is nothing more terribly potent than this at kindling the fires of passion. For it is insatiable and holds out seductive hopes. For this reason I maintain that one who intends to possess the power of self-control must refrain from kissing those in the bloom of beauty."

"But why in the world, Socrates," Charmides now asked, "do you flourish your bogeys so to frighten

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it to be held in more esteem than would otherwise be the case." The equivocation lies in the common Greek use of φιλεῖν = either *to love* or *to kiss*.

τῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ σέ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ εἶδον ναὶ μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὅτε παρὰ τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἀμφότεροι ἐμαστεύετέ τι, τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὦμον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ Κριτοβούλου ὤμῳ ἔχοντα;

28 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Φεῦ, ἔφη, ταῦτ᾽ ἄρα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θηρίου τινὸς δεδηγμένος τόν τε ὦμον πλεῖον ἢ πέντε ἡμέρας ὤδαξον καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὥσπερ κνῆσμά[1] τι ἐδόκουν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοί σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐναντίον τοσούτων μαρτύρων προαγορεύω μὴ ἅπτεσθαί μου πρὶν ἂν τὸ γένειον τῇ κεφαλῇ ὁμοίως κομήσῃς.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀναμὶξ ἔσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσπούδασαν.

29 Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Σὸν μέρος, ἔφη, λέγειν, ὦ Χαρμίδη, δι᾽ ὅ τι ἐπὶ πενίᾳ μέγα φρονεῖς.

Οὐκοῦν τόδε μέν, ἔφη, ὁμολογεῖται, κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἢ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θεραπεύειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος
30 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἐφοβούμην μή τίς μου τὴν οἰκίαν διορύξας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάβοι καὶ αὐτόν τί με κακὸν ἐργάσαιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς ὅτι παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἱκανὸς εἴην ἢ ποιῆσαι ἐκείνους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσετάττετο μὲν ἀεί τί μοι δαπανᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδημῆσαι δὲ
31 οὐδαμοῖ[2] ἐξῆν. νῦν δ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων

[1] Sauppe adopts Schneider's emendation *κνίσμα*.
[2] *οὐδαμοῖ* L. Dindorf; *οὐδαμοῦ* MSS.

us, your friends, away from the beauties, when, by Apollo! I have seen you yourself," he continued, "when the two of you were hunting down something in the same book-roll at the school, sitting head to head, with your nude shoulder pressing against Critobulus's nude shoulder?"

"Dear me!" exclaimed Socrates. "So that is what affected me like the bite of a wild animal! And for over five days my shoulder smarted and I felt as if I had something like a sting in my heart. But now, Critobulus," said he, "in the presence of all these witnesses I warn you not to lay a finger on me until you get as much hair on your chin as you have on your head."

Such was the mingled raillery and seriousness that these indulged in.

But Callias now remarked, "It is your turn, Charmides, to tell us why poverty makes you feel proud."

"Very well," said he. "So much, at least, every one admits, that assurance is preferable to fear, freedom to slavery, being the recipient of attention to being the giver of it, the confidence of one's country to its distrust. Now, as for my situation in our commonwealth, when I was rich, I was, to begin with, in dread of some one's digging through the wall of my house and not only getting my money but also doing me a mischief personally; in the next place, I knuckled down to the blackmailers, knowing well enough that my abilities lay more in the direction of suffering injury than of inflicting it on them. Then, too, I was for ever being ordered by the government to undergo some expenditure or other, and I never had the opportunity for foreign travel.

στέρομαι καὶ τὰ ἔγγεια οὐ καρποῦμαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας πέπραται, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτεταμένος, πιστὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀπειλῶ ἄλλοις, ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ τε ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ ἐπιδημεῖν· ὑπανίστανται δέ μοι ἤδη καὶ θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν
32 *ἐξίστανται οἱ πλούσιοι. καὶ εἰμὶ νῦν μὲν τυράννῳ ἐοικώς, τότε δὲ σαφῶς δοῦλος ἦν· καὶ τότε μὲν ἐγὼ φόρον ἀπέφερον τῷ δήμῳ, νῦν δὲ ἡ πόλις τέλος φέρουσα τρέφει με. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτει, ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν, ἐλοιδόρουν με ὅτι συνῆν, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ πένης γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν μέλει οὐδενί. καὶ μὴν ὅτε μέν γε πολλὰ εἶχον, ἀεί τι ἀπέβαλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης· νῦν δὲ ἀποβάλλω μὲν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω, ἀεὶ δέ τι λήψεσθαι ἐλπίζω.*

33 *Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ εὔχῃ μηδέποτε πλουτεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τι ὄναρ ἀγαθὸν ἴδῃς, τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις θύεις;*

Μὰ Δία τοῦτο μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ οὐ ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ μάλα φιλοκινδύνως ὑπομένω, ἤν ποθέν τι ἐλπίζω λήψεσθαι.

34 *Ἀλλ' ἄγε δή, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὖ λέγε ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, πῶς οὕτω βραχέα ἔχων μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ πλούτῳ.*

Ὅτι νομίζω, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν

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[1] Charmides is apparently drawing the picture of the independent voter or member of a jury.
[2] The poor relief.

Now, however, since I am stripped of my property over the border and get no income from the property in Attica, and my household effects have been sold, I stretch out and enjoy a sound sleep, I have gained the confidence of the state, I am no longer subjected to threats but do the threatening now myself; and I have the free man's privilege of going abroad or staying here at home as I please. People now actually rise from their seats in deference to me, and rich men obsequiously give me the right of way on the street.[1] Now I am like a despot; then I was clearly a slave. Then I paid a revenue to the body politic; now I live on the tribute[2] that the state pays to me. Moreover, people used to vilify me, when I was wealthy, for consorting with Socrates; but now that I have got poor, no one bothers his head about it any longer. Again, when my property was large, either the government or fate was continually making me throw some of it to the winds; but now, far from throwing anything away (for I possess nothing), I am always in expectation of acquiring something."

"Your prayers, also," said Callias, "are doubtless to the effect that you may never be rich; and if you ever have a fine dream you sacrifice, do you not, to the deities who avert disasters?"

"Oh, no!" was the reply; "I don't go so far as that; I hazard the danger with great heroism if I have any expectation of getting something from some one."

"Come, now, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "take your turn and tell us how it is that with such slender means you base your pride on wealth."

"Because, sirs, I conceive that people's wealth and poverty are to be found not in their real estate but

35 ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ὁρῶ γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας, οἳ
πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχοντες χρήματα οὕτω πένεσθαι
ἡγοῦνται ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυ-
νον ὑποδύονται ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πλείονα κτήσονται, οἶδα δὲ
καὶ ἀδελφούς, οἳ τὰ ἴσα λαχόντες ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν
τἀρκοῦντα ἔχει καὶ περιττεύοντα τῆς δαπάνης,
36 ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδεῖται· αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ
τυράννους τινάς, οἳ οὕτω πεινῶσι χρημάτων ὥστε
ποιοῦσι πολὺ δεινότερα τῶν ἀπορωτάτων· δι᾽
ἔνδειαν γὰρ δήπου οἱ μὲν κλέπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ
τοιχωρυχοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραποδίζονται· τύραννοι
δ᾽ εἰσί τινες οἳ ὅλους μὲν οἴκους ἀναιροῦσιν,
ἀθρόους δ᾽ ἀποκτείνουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅλας
37 πόλεις χρημάτων ἕνεκα ἐξανδραποδίζονται. τού-
τους μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ οἰκτίρω τῆς ἄγαν
χαλεπῆς νόσου. ὅμοια γάρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν
ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων
μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ
ἔχω ὡς μόλις αὐτὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εὑρίσκω· ὅμως
δὲ περίεστί μοι καὶ ἐσθίοντι ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ πεινῆν
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ πίνοντι μέχρι τοῦ μὴ διψῆν καὶ
ἀμφιέννυσθαι ὥστε ἔξω μὲν μηδὲν μᾶλλον Καλ-
38 λίου τούτου τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου ῥιγῶν· ἐπειδάν
γε μὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γένωμαι, πάνυ μὲν ἀλεεινοὶ
χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάνυ δὲ
παχεῖαι ἐφεστρίδες οἱ ὄροφοι, στρωμνήν γε μὴν
οὕτως ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχω ὥστ᾽ ἔργον μέ γ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ
ἀνεγεῖραι. ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι τὸ σῶμά
μου δεηθῇ, οὕτω μοι τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεῖ ὥστε αἷς ἂν

in their hearts. For I see many persons, not in office, who though possessors of large resources, yet look upon themselves as so poor that they bend their backs to any toil, any risk, if only they may increase their holdings; and again I know of brothers, with equal shares in their inheritance, where one of them has plenty, and more than enough to meet expenses, while the other is in utter want. Again, I am told of certain despots, also, who have such a greedy appetite for riches that they commit much more dreadful crimes than they who are afflicted with the direst poverty. For it is of course their want that makes some people steal, others commit burglary, others follow the slave trade; but there are some despots who destroy whole families, kill men wholesale, oftentimes enslave even entire cities, for the sake of money. As for such men, I pity them deeply for their malignant disease; for in my eyes their malady resembles that of a person who possessed abundance but though continually eating could never be satisfied. For my own part, my possessions are so great that I can hardly find them myself; yet I have enough so that I can eat until I reach a point where I no longer feel hungry and drink until I do not feel thirsty and have enough clothing so that when out of doors I do not feel the cold any more than my superlatively wealthy friend Callias here, and when I get into the house I look on my walls as exceedingly warm tunics and the roofs as exceptionally thick mantles; and the bedding that I own is so satisfactory that it is actually a hard task to get me awake in the morning. If I ever feel a natural desire for converse with women, I am so well satisfied with whatever chance puts in my way that those to whom

προσέλθω ὑπερασπάζονταί με διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἄλ-
39 λον αὐταῖς ἐθέλειν προσιέναι. καὶ πάντα τοίνυν
ταῦτα οὕτως ἡδέα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς μᾶλλον μὲν
ἥδεσθαι ποιῶν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην,
ἧττον δέ· οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔνια αὐτῶν ἡδίω εἶναι
40 τοῦ συμφέροντος. πλείστου δ᾽ ἄξιον κτῆμα ἐν τῷ
ἐμῷ πλούτῳ λογίζομαι εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ μού τις
καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα παρέλοιτο, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὁρῶ
φαῦλον ἔργον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν ἂν τροφὴν
41 ἐμοὶ παρέχοι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἡδυπαθῆσαι βου-
ληθῶ, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ τίμια ὠνοῦμαι, πολυ-
τελῆ γὰρ γίγνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμιεύομαι.
καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀνα-
μείνας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι ἢ ὅταν τινὶ τῶν
τιμίων χρῶμαι, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ Θασίῳ
42 οἴνῳ ἐντυχὼν οὐ διψῶν πίνω αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ πολὺ δικαιοτέρους γε εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς εὐτέ-
λειαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυχρηματίαν σκοποῦντας. οἷς
γὰρ μάλιστα τὰ παρόντα ἀρκεῖ ἥκιστα τῶν ἀλλο-
43 τρίων ὀρέγονται. ἄξιον δ᾽ ἐννοῆσαι ὡς καὶ
ἐλευθερίους ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος παρέχεται. Σω-
κράτης τε γὰρ οὗτος, παρ᾽ οὗ ἐγὼ τοῦτον
ἐκτησάμην, οὔτ᾽ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε σταθμῷ ἐπήρκει
μοι, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσον ἐδυνάμην φέρεσθαι, τοσοῦτόν
μοι παρεδίδου· ἐγώ τε νῦν οὐδενὶ φθονῶ, ἀλλὰ
πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐπιδεικνύω τὴν ἀφθονίαν καὶ
μεταδίδωμι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ

I make my addresses are more than glad to welcome me because they have no one else who wants to consort with them. In a word, all these items appeal to me as being so conducive to enjoyment that I could not pray for greater pleasure in performing any one of them, but could pray rather for less—so much more pleasurable do I regard some of them than is good for one. But the most valuable parcel of my wealth I reckon to be this, that even though some one were to rob me of what I now possess, I see no occupation so humble that it would not give me adequate fare. For whenever I feel an inclination to indulge my appetite, I do not buy fancy articles at the market (for they come high), but I draw on the store-house of my soul. And it goes a long way farther toward producing enjoyment when I take food only after awaiting the craving for it than when I partake of one of these fancy dishes, like this fine Thasian wine that fortune has put in my way and I am drinking without the promptings of thirst. Yes, and it is natural that those whose eyes are set on frugality should be more honest than those whose eyes are fixed on money-making. For those who are most contented with what they have are least likely to covet what belongs to others. And it is worth noting that wealth of this kind makes people generous, also. My friend Socrates here and I are examples. For Socrates, from whom I acquired this wealth of mine, did not come to my relief with limitation of number and weight, but made over to me all that I could carry. And as for me, I am now niggardly to no one, but both make an open display of my abundance to all my friends and share my spiritual wealth with any one of them that desires it.

44 πλούτου. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἁβρότατόν γε κτῆμα τὴν σχολὴν ἀεὶ ὁρᾶτέ μοι παροῦσαν, ὥστε καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ ἀξιοθέατα καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ ἀξιάκουστα καὶ ὃ πλείστου ἐγὼ τιμῶμαι, Σωκράτει σχολάζων συνδιημερεύειν. καὶ οὗτος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀριθμοῦντας χρυσίον θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' οἳ ἂν αὐτῷ ἀρέσκωσι τούτοις συνὼν διατελεῖ.

45 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, τά τε ἄλλα ζηλῶ σε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἡ πόλις σοι ἐπιτάττουσα ὡς δούλῳ χρῆται οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἢν μὴ δανείσῃς, ὀργίζονται.

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, μὴ ζήλου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἥξω παρ' αὐτοῦ δανεισόμενος τὸ μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι, οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀριθμεῖν

> ἕπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
> αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους,

σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς πλείστου πλούτου ἐπιθυμῶν οὐ παύομαι· ἐξ ὧν ἴσως καὶ φιλοχρηματώτερός τισι δοκῶ εἶναι.

Ἔνθα δὴ ἀνεγέλασαν ἅπαντες, νομίζοντες τὰ ὄντα εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν.

46 Ἐκ τούτου εἶπέ τις· Σὸν ἔργον, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες, λέγειν τε τοὺς φίλους οἵτινές εἰσι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι ὡς μέγα τε δύνανται καὶ σοῦ ἐπιμέλονται, ἵνα δοκῇς δικαίως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν.

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[1] *Il.* ix, 122 f., 264 f.

But—most exquisite possession of all!—you observe that I always have leisure, with the result that I can go and see whatever is worth seeing, and hear whatever is worth hearing and—what I prize highest—pass the whole day, untroubled by business, in Socrates' company. Like me, he does not bestow his admiration on those who count the most gold, but spends his time with those who are congenial to him."

Such was the thesis maintained by Antisthenes. "So help me Hera," commented Callias, "among the numerous reasons I find for congratulating you on your wealth, one is that the government does not lay its commands on you and treat you as a slave, another is that people do not feel resentful at your not making them a loan."

"Do not be congratulating him," said Niceratus; "because I am about to go and get him to make me a loan—of his contentment with his lot, schooled as I am by Homer to count

'Sev'n pots unfired, ten talents' weight of gold,
A score of gleaming cauldrons, chargers twelve,'[1]

weighing and calculating until I am never done with yearning for vast riches; as a result, some people perhaps regard me as just a bit fond of lucre."

A burst of laughter from the whole company greeted this admission; for they considered that he had told nothing more than the truth.

"Hermogenes, it devolves on you," some one now remarked, "to mention who your friends are and to demonstrate their great power and their solicitude for you, so that your pride in them may appear justified."

47 Οὐκοῦν ὡς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται πάντα εἰδέναι τά τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εὔδηλον. πᾶσαι γοῦν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ μαντικῆς ἐπερωτῶσι τοὺς θεοὺς τί τε χρὴ καὶ τί οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι νομίζομέν γε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σαφές. πάντες γοῦν αἰτοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν φαῦλα ἀποτρέπειν,
48 τἀγαθὰ δὲ διδόναι. οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ πάντα μὲν εἰδότες πάντα δὲ δυνάμενοι θεοὶ οὕτω μοι φίλοι εἰσὶν ὥστε διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαί μου οὔποτε λήθω αὐτοὺς οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔθ' ἡμέρας οὔθ' ὅποι ἂν ὁρμῶμαι οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν μέλλω πράττειν. διὰ δὲ τὸ προειδέναι καὶ ὅ τι ἐξ ἑκάστου ἀποβήσεται σημαίνουσί μοι πέμποντες ἀγγέλους φήμας καὶ ἐνύπνια καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἅ τε δεῖ καὶ ἃ οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν, οἷς ἐγὼ ὅταν μὲν πείθωμαι, οὐδέποτέ μοι μεταμέλει· ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπιστήσας ἐκολάσθην.

49 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἄπιστον. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην, πῶς αὐτοὺς θεραπεύων οὕτω φίλους ἔχεις.

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἑρμογένης, καὶ μάλα εὐτελῶς. ἐπαινῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δαπανῶν, ὧν τε διδόασιν ἀεὶ αὖ παρέχομαι, εὐφημῶ τε ὅσα ἂν δύνωμαι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας ποιήσωμαι ἑκὼν οὐδὲν ψεύδομαι.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἄρα τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλους αὐτοὺς ἔχεις, καὶ οἱ θεοί, ὡς ἔοικε, καλοκἀγαθίᾳ ἥδονται.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐσπουδαιολογήθη.

"Very well; in the first place, it is clear as day that both Greeks and barbarians believe that the gods know everything both present and to come; at any rate, all cities and all races ask the gods, by the diviner's art, for advice as to what to do and what to avoid. Second, it is likewise manifest that we consider them able to work us good or ill; at all events, every one prays the gods to avert evil and grant blessings. Well, these gods, omniscient and omnipotent, feel so friendly toward me that their watchfulness over me never lets me out of their ken night or day, no matter where I am going or what business I have in view. They know the results also that will follow any act; and so they send me as messengers omens of sounds, dreams, and birds, and thus indicate what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And when I do their bidding, I never regret it; on the other hand, I have before now disregarded them and have been punished for it."

"None of these statements," said Socrates, "is incredible. But what I should like very much to know is how you serve them to keep them so friendly."

"A very economical service it is, I declare!" responded Hermogenes. "I sound their praises,—which costs nothing; I always restore them part of what they give me; I avoid profanity of speech as far as I can; and I never wittingly lie in matters wherein I have invoked them to be my witnesses."

"Truly," said Socrates, "if it is conduct like this that gives you their friendship, then the gods also, it would seem, take delight in nobility of soul!"

Such was the serious turn given to the discussion of this topic.

50 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον ἧκον, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν τί ὁρῶν ἐν τῇ γελωτοποιίᾳ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίη.

Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἔφη, ὁπότε γε πάντες εἰδότες ὅτι γελωτοποιός εἰμι, ὅταν μέν τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχωσι, παρακαλοῦσί με ἐπὶ ταῦτα προθύμως, ὅταν δέ τι κακὸν λάβωσι, φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτί, φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἄκοντες γελάσωσι;

51 Καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος εἶπε· Νὴ Δία, σὺ τοίνυν δικαίως μέγα φρονεῖς. ἐμοὶ γὰρ αὖ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν εὖ πράττοντες ἐκποδὼν ἀπέρχονται, οἳ δ' ἂν κακόν τι λάβωσι, γενεαλογοῦσι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ οὐδέποτέ μου ἀπολείπονται.

52 Εἶεν· σὺ δὲ δή, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ὦ Συρακόσιε, ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖς; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή· ἀλλὰ καὶ δέδοικα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς. αἰσθάνομαι γάρ τινας ἐπιβουλεύοντας διαφθεῖραι αὐτόν.

53 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀκούσας, Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη, τί τοσοῦτον νομίζοντες ἠδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ παιδὸς ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι;

Ἀλλ' οὔτοι, ἔφη, ἀποκτεῖναι βούλονται, ἀλλὰ πεῖσαι αὐτὸν συγκαθεύδειν αὐτοῖς.

Σὺ δ', ὡς ἔοικας, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, νομίζεις ἂν διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, παντάπασί γε.

54 Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄρ', ἔφη, συγκαθεύδεις αὐτῷ;

Νὴ Δί' ὅλας γε καὶ πάσας τὰς νύκτας.

When they got around to Philip, they asked him what he saw in the jester's profession to feel proud of it.

"Have I not a right to be proud," said he, "when all know that I am a jester, and so whenever they have a bit of good fortune, give me hearty invitations to come and join them, but when they suffer some reverse, run from me with never a glance behind, in dread that they may be forced to laugh in spite of themselves?"

"Your pride is abundantly justified," said Niceratus. "In my case, on the contrary, those friends who enjoy success keep out of my way, but those that run into some mishap reckon up their kinship to me on the family tree, and I can't get rid of them."

"No doubt," said Charmides; and then, turning to the Syracusan, "What is it that you are proud of? The boy, I suppose?"

"Quite the contrary," was the reply; "I am instead in extreme apprehension about him. For I understand that there are certain persons plotting his undoing."

On receiving this information, "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Socrates; "what wrong do they imagine your lad has done them that is grave enough to make them wish to kill him?"

Syr. "It is not killing him that they desire; oh, no! but to persuade him to sleep with them."

Soc. "Your belief, then, if I mistake not, is that if this happened, he would be undone?"

Syr. "Aye, utterly!"

Soc. "Do you not then sleep in his bed yourself?"

Syr. "Most certainly, all night and every night."

Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εὐτύχημά γέ σου μέγα τὸ τὸν χρῶτα τοιοῦτον φῦναι ἔχοντα ὥστε μόνον μὴ διαφθείρειν τοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας. ὥστε σοί γε εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ χρωτὶ ἄξιον μέγα φρονεῖν.

55 Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῶ.

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μήν;

Ἐπὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς ἄφροσιν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα θεώμενοι τρέφουσί με.

Ταῦτα γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ πρῴην ἐγώ σου ἤκουον εὐχομένου πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅπου ἂν ᾖς διδόναι καρποῦ μὲν ἀφθονίαν, φρενῶν δὲ ἀφορίαν·

56 Εἶεν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας· σὺ δὲ δή, ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄξιόν σοί ἐστι μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ᾗ εἶπας οὕτως ἀδόξῳ οὔσῃ τέχνῃ;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁμολογησώμεθα πρῶτον ποῖά ἐστιν ἔργα τοῦ μαστροποῦ· καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶ μὴ ὀκνεῖτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ὅσα ἂν συνομολογῶμεν. καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτω δοκεῖ; ἔφη.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ εἶπον Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, τοῦτο πάντες ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπεκρίναντο.

57 Οὐκοῦν ἀγαθοῦ μέν, ἔφη, ὑμῖν δοκεῖ μαστροποῦ ἔργον εἶναι ἣν ἂν ἢ ὃν ἂν μαστροπεύῃ ἀρέσκοντα τοῦτον ἀποδεικνύναι οἷς ἂν συνῇ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν.

Οὐκοῦν ἓν μέν τί ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν ἐκ τοῦ πρέπουσαν ἔχειν σχέσιν καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν.

58 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ

Soc. "Marry, you are in great luck to be formed of such flesh that you are unique in not corrupting those that sleep with you. And so you have a right to be proud of your flesh if of nothing else."

Syr. "And yet that is not the basis of my pride."

Soc. "What is, then?"

Syr. "Fools, in faith. They give me a livelihood by coming to view my marionettes."

"Ah!" ejaculated Philip; "that explains the prayer I heard you uttering the other day, that wherever you were the gods would grant you an abundant harvest of grain but a crop-failure of wits!"

"Good!" said Callias. "And now, Socrates, what can you advance in support of your pride in that disreputable profession that you mentioned?"

"Let us first," said he, "come to an understanding on the functions that belong to the procurer. Do not hesitate to answer all the questions I ask you, so that we may know our points of agreement. Is that your pleasure?" he asked.

"Certainly," was their reply; and when they had once started with "certainly," that was the regular answer they all made to his questions thereafter.

Soc. "Well, then, you consider it the function of a good procurer to render the man or the woman whom he is serving attractive to his or her associates?"

All. "Certainly."

Soc. "Now, one thing that contributes to rendering a person attractive is a comely arrangement of hair and clothing, is it not?"

All. "Certainly."

"This, also, we know, do we not, that it is in a

τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶς πρός τινας βλέπειν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ; τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ θρασέως φθέγγεσθαι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ; λόγοι οὐκ εἰσὶ μέν τινες ἀπεχθανόμενοι, εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ πρὸς φιλίαν ἄγουσι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

59 Οὐκοῦν τούτων ὁ ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς τὰ συμφέροντα εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν διδάσκοι ἄν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Ἀμείνων δ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ὁ ἑνὶ δυνάμενος ἀρεστοὺς ποιεῖν ἢ ὅστις καὶ πολλοῖς;

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἐσχίσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶπον Δῆλον ὅτι ὅστις πλείστοις, οἱ δὲ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

60 Ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖται ἔφη· Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει ἀρέσκοντας δύναιτο ἀποδεικνύναι, οὐχ οὗτος παντελῶς ἂν ἤδη ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς εἴη;

Σαφῶς γε νὴ Δία, πάντες εἶπον.

Οὐκοῦν εἴ τις τοιούτους δύναιτο ἐξεργάζεσθαι ὧν προστατοίη, δικαίως ἂν μέγα φρονοίη ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ δικαίως ἂν πολὺν μισθὸν λαμβάνοι;

61 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντες συνωμολόγουν, Τοιοῦτος μέντοι, ἔφη, μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης εἶναι οὗτος.

man's power to use the one pair of eyes to express both friendship and hostility?"

"Certainly."

"And again, it is possible to speak both modestly and boldly with the same voice?"

"Certainly."

"Moreover, are there not words that create ill feeling and others that conduce to friendliness?"

"Certainly."

"Now the good procurer would teach only the words that tend to make one attractive, would he not?"

"Certainly."

"Which one would be the better?" he continued, "the one who could make people attractive to a single person or the one who could make them attractive to many?"

This question brought a division; some said, "Clearly the one who could make them attractive to a great many"; the others merely repeated, "Certainly."

Remarking that they were all of one mind on this point as on the others, he went on: "If a person could render people attractive to the entire community, would he not satisfy the requirements of the ideal procurer?"

"Indubitably," they all said.

"And so, if one could produce men of this type out of his clients, he would be entitled to feel proud of his profession and to receive a high remuneration, would he not?"

All agreeing on this point, too, he added, "Antisthenes here seems to me to be a man of just that sort."

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Ἐμοί, ἔφη, παραδίδως, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὴν τέχνην;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. ὁρῶ γάρ σε καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον ταύτης πάνυ ἐξειργασμένον.

Τίνα ταύτην;

Τὴν προαγωγείαν, ἔφη.

62 Καὶ ὃς μάλα ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπήρετο· Καὶ τί μοι σύνοισθα, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον εἰργασμένῳ;

Οἶδα μέν, ἔφη, σε Καλλίαν τουτονὶ προαγωγεύσαντα τῷ σοφῷ Προδίκῳ, ὅτε ἑώρας τοῦτον μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἐρῶντα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενον· οἶδα δέ σε Ἱππίᾳ τῷ Ἠλείῳ, παρ' οὗ οὗτος καὶ τὸ μνημονικὸν ἔμαθεν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτικώτερος γεγένηται διὰ τὸ ὅ τι ἂν καλὸν ἴδῃ μη-
63 δέποτε ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. ἔναγχος δὲ δήπου καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ξένον ἐπεί με ἐποίησας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοῦ, συνέστησάς μοι αὐτόν. καὶ χάριν μέντοι σοι ἔχω· πάνυ γὰρ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. Αἰσχύλον δὲ τὸν Φλειάσιον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐχ οὕτω διέθηκας ὥστε διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἐρῶντες ἐκυ-
64 νοδρομοῦμεν ἀλλήλους ζητοῦντες; ταῦτα οὖν ὁρῶν δυνάμενόν σε ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν νομίζω προαγωγὸν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ οἷός τε ὢν γιγνώσκειν τοὺς ὠφελίμους αὑτοῖς καὶ τούτους δυνάμενος ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀλλήλων, οὗτος ἄν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλεις δύνασθαι φίλας ποιεῖν καὶ γάμους ἐπιτηδείους

[1] Zeuxippus, the painter. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* 318 B, C.
[2] Nothing further seems to be known of this man.

Antisthenes asked, "Are you resigning your profession to me, Socrates?"

"Assuredly," was the answer. "For I see that you have brought to a high state of perfection the complementary trade."

"What is that?"

"The profession of go-between," he said.

Antisthenes was much incensed and asked, "What knowledge can you possibly have of my being guilty of such a thing as that?"

"I know several instances," he replied. "I know that you acted the part between Callias here and the scholar Prodicus, when you saw that Callias was in love with philosophy and that Prodicus wanted money. I know also that you did the same for Hippias, the Elean, from whom Callias got his memory system; and as a result, Callias has become more amorous than ever, because he finds it impossible to forget any beauty he sees. And just recently, you remember, you introduced the stranger from Heraclea[1] to me, after arousing my keen interest in him by your commendations. For this I am indeed grateful to you; for I look upon him as endowed with a truly noble nature. And did you not laud Aeschylus the Phleiasian[2] to me and me to him until you brought us to such a pass that in mutual yearning, excited by your words, we went coursing like hounds to find each other? It is the witnessing of your talent at achieving such a result that makes me judge you an excellent go-between. For the man who can recognize those who are fitted to be mutually helpful and can make them desire one another's acquaintance, that man, in my opinion, could also create friendship between cities and arrange

συνάγειν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ[1] ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος κεκτῆσθαι. σὺ δὲ ὡς κακῶς ἀκούσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἔφην προαγωγὸν εἶναι, ὠργίσθης.

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ νῦν. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα δύνωμαι, σεσαγμένος δὴ παντάπασι πλούτου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔσομαι.

Καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ περίοδος τῶν λόγων ἀπετελέσθη.

V. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ἔφη· Σὺ δὲ δή, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα πρὸς Σωκράτην οὐκ ἀνθίστασαι;

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἴσως γὰρ εὐδοκιμοῦντα τὸν μαστροπὸν παρὰ τοῖς κριταῖς ὁρᾷ.

2 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οὐκ ἀναδύομαι· ἀλλὰ δίδασκε, εἴ τι ἔχεις σοφόν, ὡς καλλίων εἶ ἐμοῦ. μόνον, ἔφη, τὸν λαμπτῆρα ἐγγύς τις[2] προσενεγκάτω.

Εἰς ἀνάκρισιν τοίνυν σε, ἔφη, πρῶτον τῆς δίκης καλοῦμαι· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου.

Σὺ δέ γε ἐρώτα.

3 Πότερον οὖν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνον νομίζεις τὸ καλὸν εἶναι ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινί;

Ἐγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ καὶ βοῒ καὶ ἐν ἀψύχοις πολλοῖς. οἶδα γοῦν οὖσαν καὶ ἀσπίδα καλὴν καὶ ξίφος καὶ δόρυ.

4 Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οἷόν τε ταῦτα μηδὲν ὅμοια ὄντα ἀλλήλοις πάντα καλὰ εἶναι;

[1] καὶ ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος Finckh; καὶ φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις MSS.; Sauppe brackets καὶ συμμάχοις.
[2] ἐγγύς τις Mehler; ἐγγὺς MSS.

suitable marriages, and would be a very valuable acquisition as friend or ally for both states and individuals. But you got indignant, as if you had received an affront, when I said that you were a good go-between."

"But, indeed, that is all over now," he replied; "for with this power mine I shall find my soul chock-full of riches."

And so this round of discourse was brought to a close.

V. Callias now said, "Critobulus, are you going to refuse to enter the lists in the beauty contest with Socrates?"

"Undoubtedly!" said Socrates; "for probably he notices that the procurer stands high in the favour of the judges."

"But yet in spite of that," retorted Critobulus, "I do not shun the contest. So make your plea, if you can produce any profound reason, and prove that you are more handsome than I. Only," he added, "let some one bring the light close to him."

"The first step, then, in my suit," said Socrates, "is to summon you to the preliminary hearing; be so kind as to answer my questions."

"And you proceed to put them."

"Do you hold, then, that beauty is to be found only in man, or is it also in other objects?"

Crit. "In faith, my opinion is that beauty is to be found quite as well in a horse or an ox or in any number of inanimate things. I know, at any rate, that a shield may be beautiful, or a sword, or a spear."

Soc. "How can it be that all these things are beautiful when they are entirely dissimilar?"

Ἦν νὴ Δί', ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ὧν ἕνεκα ἕκαστα κτώμεθα εὖ εἰργασμένα ᾖ ἢ εὖ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἃ ἂν δεώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καλά.

5 Οἶσθα οὖν, ἔφη, ὀφθαλμῶν τίνος ἕνεκα δεόμεθα;

Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι τοῦ ὁρᾶν.

Οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν ἤδη οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καλλίονες ἂν τῶν σῶν εἴησαν.

Πῶς δή;

Ὅτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κατ' εὐθὺ μόνον ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιοι εἶναι.

Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων;

Πάντως δήπου, ἔφη· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄριστα πεφυκότας ἔχει.

6 Εἶεν, ἔφη, τῶν δὲ ῥινῶν ποτέρα καλλίων, ἡ σὴ ἢ ἡ ἐμή;

Ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, οἶμαι τὴν ἐμήν, εἴπερ γε τοῦ ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἕνεκεν ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν ῥῖνας οἱ θεοί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ μυκτῆρες εἰς γῆν ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀναπέπτανται, ὥστε τὰς πάντοθεν ὀσμὰς προσδέχεσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ δὴ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινὸς πῶς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ κάλλιον;

Ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀντιφράττει, ἀλλ' ἐᾷ εὐθὺς τὰς ὄψεις ὁρᾶν ἃ ἂν βούλωνται· ἡ δὲ ὑψηλὴ ῥὶς ὥσπερ ἐπηρεάζουσα διατετείχικε τὰ ὄμματα.

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[1] Critobulus, of course, gets into trouble by his poor definition of beauty. In the Greek the ensuing discussion is made plausible by the fact that throughout both disputants use only one word, καλός, which means not only *beautiful* or *handsome* but also *glorious, noble, excellent, fine;* and though

"Why, they are beautiful and fine,"[1] answered Critobulus, "if they are well made for the respective functions for which we obtain them, or if they are naturally well constituted to serve our needs."

Soc. "Do you know the reason why we need eyes?"

Crit. "Obviously to see with."

"In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours."

"How so?"

"Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging out as they do, see also to the sides."

Crit. "Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?"

Soc. "Absolutely; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength."

Crit. "Well, let that pass; but whose nose is finer, yours or mine?"

Soc. "Mine, I consider, granting that Providence made us noses to smell with. For your nostrils look down toward the ground, but mine are wide open and turned outward so that I can catch scents from all about."

"But how do you make a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?"

Soc. "For the reason that it does not put a barricade between the eyes but allows them unobstructed vision of whatever they desire to see; whereas a high nose, as if in despite, has walled the eyes off one from the other."

starting with the first meaning it soon shifts to the last. The translator is compelled to use different terms for this in the two parts of the argument.

7 Τοῦ γε μὴν στόματος, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὑφίεμαι. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀποδάκνειν ἕνεκα πεποίηται, πολὺ ἂν σὺ μεῖζον ἢ ἐγὼ ἀποδάκοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ παχέα ἔχειν τὰ χείλη οὐκ οἴει καὶ μαλακώτερόν σου ἔχειν τὸ φίλημα;

Ἔοικα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον καὶ τῶν ὄνων αἴσχιον τὸ στόμα ἔχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐδὲν τεκμήριον λογίζῃ ὡς ἐγὼ σοῦ καλλίων εἰμί, ὅτι καὶ Ναΐδες θεαὶ οὖσαι τοὺς Σειληνοὺς ἐμοὶ ὁμοιοτέρους τίκτουσιν ἢ σοί;

8 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκέτι, ἔφη, ἔχω πρὸς σὲ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ διαφερόντων, ἔφη, τὰς ψήφους, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα εἰδῶ ὅ τι με χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι. μόνον, ἔφη, κρυφῇ φερόντων· δέδοικα γὰρ τὸν σὸν καὶ Ἀντισθένους πλοῦτον μή με καταδυναστεύσῃ.

9 Ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς καὶ ὁ παῖς κρύφα ἀνέφερον. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν τούτῳ διέπραττε τόν τε λύχνον ἀντιπροσενεγκεῖν τῷ Κριτοβούλῳ, ὡς μὴ ἐξαπατηθείησαν οἱ κριταί, καὶ τῷ νικήσαντι μὴ ταινίας ἀλλὰ φιλήματα ἀναδήματα παρὰ τῶν
10 κριτῶν γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσον αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι σὺν Κριτοβούλῳ, Παπαῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐχ ὅμοιον ἔοικε τὸ σὸν ἀργύριον, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, τῷ Καλλίου εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τούτου δικαιοτέρους ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σὸν ὥσπερ τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθείρειν ἱκανόν ἐστι καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ κριτάς.

VI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον,

"As for the mouth," said Critobulus, "I concede that point. For if it is created for the purpose of biting off food, you could bite off a far bigger mouthful than I could. And don't you think that your kiss is also the more tender because you have thick lips?"

Soc. "According to your argument, it would seem that I have a mouth more ugly even than an ass's. But do you not reckon it a proof of my superior beauty that the River Nymphs, goddesses as they are, bear as their offspring the Seileni, who resemble me more closely than they do you?"

"I cannot argue any longer with you," answered Critobulus; "let them distribute the ballots, so that I may know without suspense what fine or punishment I must undergo. Only," he continued, "let the balloting be secret, for I am afraid that the 'wealth' you and Antisthenes possess will overmaster me."

So the maiden and the lad turned in the ballots secretly. While this was going on, Socrates saw to it that the light should be brought in front of Critobulus, so that the judges might not be misled, and stipulated that the prize given by the judges to crown the victor should be kisses and not ribbons. When the ballots were turned out of the urn and proved to be a unanimous verdict in favour of Critobulus, "Faugh!" exclaimed Socrates; "your money, Critobulus, does not appear to resemble Callias's. For his makes people more honest, while yours is about the most potent to corrupt men, whether members of a jury or judges of a contest."

VI. At this some of the company urged Critobulus to take his kisses, the meed of victory; others advised him to get the consent of the young

οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον πείθειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔσκωπτον. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμογένης κἀνταῦθα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὀνομάσας αὐτόν, Ἔχοις ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τί ἐστι παροινία;

Καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ μὲν ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἐρωτᾷς, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ μέντοι μοι δοκοῦν εἴποιμ' ἄν.

Ἀλλ' ὃ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ', ἔφη.

2 Τὸ τοίνυν παρ' οἶνον λυπεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω παροινίαν.

Οἶσθ' οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ σὺ νῦν ἡμᾶς λυπεῖς σιωπῶν;

Ἦ καὶ ὅταν λέγητ'; ἔφη.

Οὔκ, ἀλλ' ὅταν διαλίπωμεν.

Ἦ οὖν λέληθέ σε ὅτι μεταξὺ τοῦ ὑμᾶς λέγειν οὐδ' ἂν τρίχα, μὴ ὅτι λόγον ἄν τις παρείρειε;

3 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ὦ Καλλία, ἔχοις ἄν τι, ἔφη, ἀνδρὶ ἐλεγχομένῳ βοηθῆσαι;

Ἔγωγ', ἔφη. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς φθέγγηται, παντάπασι σιωπῶμεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης, Ἦ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔφη, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ ὑποκριτὴς τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν κατέλεγεν, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν ὑμῖν διαλέγωμαι;

4 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, Ἑρμόγενες, οὕτω ποίει. οἶμαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡ ᾠδὴ ἡδίων πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡδύνεσθαι ἄν τι ὑπὸ τῶν φθόγγων, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μορφάζοις ὥσπερ ἡ αὐλητρὶς καὶ σὺ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα.

people's legal guardian; and others indulged in other badinage. But even then Hermogenes kept silent. And Socrates, calling him by name, inquired, "Hermogenes, could you define 'convivial unpleasantness' for us?"

"If you ask me what it actually is," he answered, "I do not know; but I am willing to tell you what I think it is."

Soc. "Very well, tell us that."

Herm. "My definition of 'convivial unpleasantness' is the annoying of one's companions at their drink."

Soc. "Well, do you realize that at the present moment you conform to the definition by annoying us with your taciturnity?"

Herm. "What! while you are talking?"

"No, but in the intervals."

"Why, don't you see that a person could not insert even a hair in the interstices of your talk, much less a word?"

"Callias," said Socrates, appealing to him, "could you come to the rescue of a man hard put to it for an answer?"

"Yes, indeed," said he: "we are absolutely quiet every time the flute is played."

Hermogenes retorted, "Is it your wish that I should converse with you to the accompaniment of a flute, the way the actor Nicostratus used to recite tetrameter verses?"

"In Heaven's name, do so, Hermogenes," urged Socrates. "For I believe that precisely as a song is more agreeable when accompanied on the flute, so your discourse would be embellished somewhat by the music, especially if you were to gesticulate and pose, like the flute-girl, to point your words."

5 Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἔφη· Ὅταν οὖν ὁ Ἀντισθένης ὅδ᾽ ἐλέγχῃ τινὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τί ἔσται τὸ αὔλημα;

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε, Τῷ μὲν ἐλεγχομένῳ οἶμαι ἄν, ἔφη, πρέπειν συριγμόν.

6 Τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ὄντων ὡς ἑώρα ὁ Συρακόσιος τῶν μὲν αὑτοῦ ἐπιδειγμάτων ἀμελοῦντας, ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἡδομένους, φθονῶν τῷ Σωκράτει εἶπεν· Ἆρα σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ φροντιστὴς ἐπικαλούμενος;

Οὔκουν κάλλιον, ἔφη, ἢ εἰ ἁφρόντιστος[1] ἐκαλούμην;

Εἰ μή γε ἐδόκεις τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστὴς εἶναι.

7 Οἶσθα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μετεωρότερόν τι τῶν θεῶν;

Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη, οὐ τούτων σε λέγουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνωφελεστάτων.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ οὕτως ἄν, ἔφη, θεῶν ἐπιμελοίμην· ἄνωθεν μέν γε ὕοντες ὠφελοῦσιν, ἄνωθεν δὲ φῶς παρέχουσιν. εἰ δὲ ψυχρὰ λέγω, σὺ αἴτιος, ἔφη, πράγματά μοι παρέχων.

8 Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, ἔα· ἀλλ᾽ εἰπέ μοι πόσους

[1] ἁφρόντιστος Capps; ἀφρόντιστος MSS.

[1] The Syracusan uses the word applied by the Greeks first to astronomical and then to philosophical (especially ontological) inquiry, a word of reproach for radical thinkers that was used against Socrates in Aristophanes' burlesque, the

"What is the tune to be," asked Callias, "when Antisthenes here gets some one at the banquet cornered in an argument?"

"For the discomfited disputant," said Antisthenes, "I think the appropriate music would be a hissing."

The Syracusan, seeing that with such conversation going on the banqueters were paying no attention to his show, but were enjoying one another's company, said spitefully to Socrates, "Socrates, are you the one nick-named the 'Thinker'?"

"Well, isn't that preferable," he rejoined, "to being called the 'Thoughtless'?"

"Yes, if it were not that you are supposed to be a thinker on celestial subjects."[1]

"Do you know," asked Socrates, "anything more celestial than the gods?"

Syr. "No; but that is not what people say you are concerned with, but rather with the most unbeneficial things."

Soc. "Even granting the expression, it would still be the gods that are my concern; for (1) they cause rain *un*der the heavens and so are *beneficial*,[2] and (2) they produce light, also *un*der the heavens, and are thus again *beneficial*. If the pun is strained," he added, "you have only yourself to blame for it, for annoying me."

Syr. "Well, let that pass. But tell me the

Clouds, and later played a more serious part in Socrates' trial.

[2] This translation is an attempt to reproduce Socrates' bad logic and worse pun whereby he takes the Syracusan's expression ἀν-ωφελεστάτων ("most useless," "most unbeneficial") and not only splits it in two, but changes the negative prefix into the adverb ἄνωθεν ("from above").

ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις. ταῦτα γάρ σέ φασι γεωμετρεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε· Σὺ μέντοι δεινὸς εἶ, ὦ Φίλιππε, εἰκάζειν· οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος λοιδορεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ ἐοικέναι;

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοις γε πολλοῖς.

9 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὐτὸν μὴ εἴκαζε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σὺ λοιδορουμένῳ ἐοίκῃς.

Ἀλλ' εἴπερ γε τοῖς πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰκάζω αὐτόν, ἐπαινοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ λοιδορουμένῳ δικαίως ἂν εἰκάζοι μέ τις.

Καὶ νῦν σύγε λοιδορουμένῳ ἔοικας, εἰ πάντ' αὐτοῦ βελτίω φῂς εἶναι.

10 Ἀλλὰ βούλει πονηροτέροις εἰκάζω αὐτόν;

Μηδὲ πονηροτέροις.

Ἀλλὰ μηδενί;

Μηδενὶ μηδὲν τοῦτον εἴκαζε.

Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι γε σιωπῶν οἶδα ὅπως ἄξια τοῦ δείπνου ἐργάσομαι.

Καὶ ῥᾳδίως γ', ἂν ἃ μὴ δεῖ λέγειν, ἔφη, σιωπᾷς.

Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ παροινία οὕτω κατεσβέσθη.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον

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[1] In a famous passage in the *Clouds* (144 ff., cf. also 830 f.), published two years before this banquet was supposed to have been held, Aristophanes had represented Socrates and Chaerephon as measuring a flea's jump in terms of its own feet.

[2] *i. e.* (if the text is sound), by saying that he resembles the virtuous, thus assuming that he is not actually one of them.

distance between us in flea's feet; for people say that your geometry includes such measurements as that."[1]

At this Antisthenes said to Philip: "You are clever at hitting off a person's likeness; wouldn't you say that our friend here resembles one with a penchant for abuse?"

"Yes, indeed," came the answer; "and I see a resemblance in him to many another kind of person, too."

"Nevertheless," interposed Socrates, "do not draw the comparison, lest you take on a similar likeness to one stooping to abuse."

"But suppose I am likening him to all the upright, the very élite; then I should deserve to be compared to a eulogist, rather than to a detractor."

"Ah, you resemble the latter right now, for you are asserting that every one is better than he."[2]

"Would you have me compare him to those who excel him in villainy?"

"No, not those, either."

"What, to no one?"

"No; don't compare him to any one in any particular."

"But if I hold my peace, I do not understand how I am going to render services suitable to such a fine dinner."

"That is easily effected," said Socrates, "if you will be reticent on matters that should not be talked about."

Thus was quenched this bit of convivial unpleasantness.

VII. Then some among the rest of the banqueters kept urging Philip to go on with his com-

εἰκάζειν, οἱ δὲ ἐκώλυον. θορύβου δὲ ὄντος ὁ Σωκράτης αὖ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἆρα ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγειν, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἅμα ᾄσαιμεν; καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἦρχεν ᾠδῆς.
2 ἐπεὶ δ' ᾖσαν, εἰσεφέρετο τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι τροχὸς τῶν κεραμικῶν, ἐφ' οὗ ἔμελλε θαυματουργήσειν.

Ἔνθα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Ὦ Συρακόσιε, κινδυνεύω ἐγώ, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τῷ ὄντι φροντιστὴς εἶναι· νῦν γοῦν[1] σκοπῶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ μὲν παῖς ὅδε ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ παῖς ἥδε ὡς ῥᾷστα διάγοιεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφραινοίμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτούς·
3 ὅπερ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ βούλει. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ μὲν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστᾶν κινδύνου ἐπίδειγμα εἶναι, ὃ συμποσίῳ οὐδὲν προσήκει. καὶ μὴν τό γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἅμα περιδινουμένου γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστιν, ἡδονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα δύναμαι γνῶναι τίν' ἂν παράσχοι. οὐδὲ μὴν τό γε διαστρέφοντας τὰ σώματα καὶ τροχοὺς μιμουμένους ἥδιον ἢ ἡσυχίαν
4 ἔχοντας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ὡραίους θεωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι σπάνιον τό γε θαυμασίοις ἐντυχεῖν, εἴ τις τούτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτίκα μάλα τὰ παρόντα θαυμάζειν, τί ποτε ὁ μὲν λύχνος διὰ τὸ λαμπρὰν φλόγα ἔχειν φῶς παρέχει, τὸ δὲ χαλκεῖον λαμπρὸν ὂν φῶς μὲν οὐ ποιεῖ, ἐν αὑτῷ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμφαινόμενα παρέχεται· καὶ πῶς τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον ὑγρὸν ὂν αὔξει τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ὅτι
5 ὑγρόν ἐστι, κατασβέννυσι τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ οἴνῳ ἐπισπεύδει· εἰ

[1] γοῦν L. Dindorf; οὖν MSS.

parisons, while others opposed. As the clamour rose to some height, Socrates once more interposed, saying: "Since we all want to talk, would this not be a fine time to join in singing?" And with the words he began a song. When they had finished, a potter's wheel was brought in for the dancing-girl on which she intended performing some feats of jugglery.

This prompted Socrates to observe to the Syracusan: "Sir, it is quite probable that, to use your words, I am indeed a 'thinker'; at any rate, I am now considering how it might be possible for this lad of yours and this maid to exert as little effort as may be, and at the same time give us the greatest possible amount of pleasure in watching them,—this being your purpose, also, I am sure. Now, turning somersaults in among knives seems to me to be a dangerous exhibition, which is utterly out of place at a banquet. Also, to write or read aloud on a whirling potter's wheel may perhaps be something of a feat; yet I cannot conceive what pleasure even this can afford. Nor is it any more diverting to watch the young and beautiful going through bodily contortions and imitating hoops than to contemplate them in repose. For it is of course no rare event to meet with marvels, if that is what one's mind is set on. He may marvel at what he finds immediately at hand,—for instance, why the lamp gives light owing to its having a bright flame, while a bronze mirror, likewise bright, does not produce light but instead reflects other things that appear in it; or how it comes about that olive oil, though wet, makes the flame higher, while water, because it is wet, puts the fire out. However, these questions also fail to promote the same object that wine does;

δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ὧραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, πολὺ ἂν οἶμαι αὐτούς τε ῥᾷον διάγειν καὶ τὸ συμπόσιον πολὺ ἐπιχαριτώτερον εἶναι.

Ὁ οὖν Συρακόσιος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλῶς τε λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς εὐφρανεῖσθε.

VIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακόσιος ἐξελθὼν συνεκροτεῖτο· ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πάλιν αὖ καινοῦ λόγου κατῆρχεν. Ἆρ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ ἰσήλικος τοῖς ἀειγενέσι θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωτάτου, καὶ μεγέθει μὲν πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ψυχῇ δ' ἀνθρώπου ἱδρυμένου,[1] Ἔρωτος, μὴ ἀμνημονῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τού-
2 του θιασῶται; ἐγώ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω χρόνον εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐρῶν τινος διατελῶ, Χαρμίδην δὲ τόνδε οἶδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐραστὰς κτησάμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα· Κριτόβουλός γε μὴν ἔτι[2] καὶ νῦν ἐρώμενος ὢν ἤδη[3] ἄλλων ἐπιθυμεῖ.
3 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντερᾶται. Ἑρμογένη γε μὴν τίς ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλοκἀγαθία, τῷ ταύτης ἔρωτι κατατήκεται; οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὡς σπουδαῖαι μὲν αὐτοῦ αἱ ὀφρύες, ἀτρεμὲς δὲ τὸ ὄμμα, μέτριοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, πραεῖα δὲ ἡ φωνή, ἱλαρὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος; τοῖς δὲ σεμνοτάτοις θεοῖς φίλοις χρώμενος οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

[1] ἱδρυμένου Blomfield; ἰσουμένου MSS.
[2] μὴν ἔτι Bornemann; ἔτι μὴν MSS. (one omitting the words); μὴν Sauppe.
[3] ἤδη καὶ Sauppe (with one MS.).

but if the young people were to have a flute accompaniment and dance figures depicting the Graces, the Horae,[1] and the Nymphs, I believe that they would be far less wearied themselves and that the charms of the banquet would be greatly enhanced."

"Upon my word, Socrates," replied the Syracusan, "you are quite right; and I will bring in a spectacle that will delight you."

VIII. So the Syracusan withdrew amid applause. Socrates now opened up another new topic for discussion. "Gentlemen," said he, "it is to be expected of us, is it not, when in the presence of a mighty deity that is coëval with the eternal gods, yet youngest of them all in appearance, in magnitude encompassing the universe, but enthroned in the heart of man,—I mean Love,—that we should not be unmindful of him, particularly in view of the fact that we are all of his following? For I cannot name a time when I was not in love with some one, and I know that Charmides here has gained many lovers and has in some instances felt the passion himself; and Critobulus, though even yet the object of love, is already beginning to feel this passion for others. Nay, Niceratus too, so I am told, is in love with his wife and finds his love reciprocated. And as for Hermogenes, who of us does not know that he is pining away with love for nobility of character, whatever that may be? Do you not observe how serious his brows are, how calm his gaze, how modest his words, how gentle his voice, how genial his demeanour? That though he enjoys the friendship of the most august gods, yet he does not disdain us

[1] Or, the Seasons. Or it may be used here in the Homeric sense of the maidens who kept the cloud gate of Heaven.

ὑπεροπᾷ; σὺ δὲ μόνος, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, οὐδενὸς
ἐρᾷς;

4 Ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ σφόδρα
γε σοῦ.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπισκώψας ὡς δὴ θρυπτόμενος
εἶπε· Μὴ νῦν μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὄχλον πάρεχε·
ὡς γὰρ ὁρᾷς, ἄλλα πράττω.

5 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεξεν· Ὡς σαφῶς μέντοι
σύ, μαστροπὲ σαυτοῦ, ἀεὶ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς· τοτὲ
μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον προφασιζόμενος οὐ διαλέγῃ μοι,
τοτὲ δ' ἄλλου του ἐφιέμενος.

6 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Ἀντί-
σθενες, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με· τὴν δ' ἄλλην
χαλεπότητα ἐγώ σου καὶ φέρω καὶ οἴσω φιλικῶς.
ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν σὸν ἔρωτα κρύπτωμεν,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔστιν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς
7 ἐμῆς. ὅτι γε μὴν σύ, ὦ Καλλία, ἐρᾷς Αὐτολύκου
πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις οἶδε, πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι καὶ τῶν
ξένων. τούτου δ' αἴτιον τὸ πατέρων τε ὀνομα-
στῶν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς.
8 ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἠγάμην τὴν σὴν φύσιν, νῦν δὲ
καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ ὁρῶ σε ἐρῶντα οὐχ ἁβρό-
τητι χλιδαινομένου οὐδὲ μαλακίᾳ θρυπτομένου,
ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνυμένου ῥώμην τε καὶ καρτε-
ρίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην. τὸ δὲ τοιού-
των ἐπιθυμεῖν τεκμήριόν ἐστι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐραστοῦ
9 φύσεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη ἢ διτταί,
Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνδημος, οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ γὰρ
Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει·

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[1] See footnote on page 494 of the *Defence*.

mortals? Are you the only person, Antisthenes, in love with no one?"

"No, by Heaven!" replied he; "I am madly in love—with you."

And Socrates, banteringly, pretending to be coquettish, said: "Don't pester me just now; I am engaged in other business, as you see."

"How transparent you are, sir procurer of your own charms," Antisthenes rejoined, "in always doing something like this; at one time you refuse me audience on the pretext of your divine sign,[1] at another time because you have some other purpose in mind."

"In Heaven's name, Antisthenes," implored Socrates, "only refrain from beating me; any other manifestation of your bad temper I am wont to endure, and shall continue to do so, in a friendly spirit. But," he went on, "let us keep your love a secret, because it is founded not on my spirit but on my physical beauty. But as for you, Callias, all the city knows that you are in love with Autolycus, and so, I think, do a great many men from abroad. The reason for this is the fact that you are both sons of distinguished fathers and are yourselves in the public eye. Now, I have always felt an admiration for your character, but at the present time I feel a much keener one, for I see that you are in love with a person who is not marked by dainty elegance nor wanton effeminacy, but shows to the world physical strength and stamina, virile courage and sobriety. Setting one's heart on such traits gives an insight into the lover's character. Now, whether there is one Aphrodite or two, 'Heavenly' and 'Vulgar,' I do not know; for even Zeus, though considered one and the same, yet has

ὅτι γε μέντοι χωρὶς ἑκατέρᾳ βωμοί τέ εἰσι καὶ νεῲ καὶ θυσίαι τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, τῇ δὲ
10 Οὐρανίᾳ ἁγνότεραι, οἶδα. εἰκάσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τὴν μὲν Πάνδημον τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιπέμπειν, τὴν δ' Οὐρανίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων. ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, κατέχεσθαί μοι δοκεῖς ἔρωτος.
11 τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐρωμένου καλοκἀγαθίᾳ καὶ ὅτι σε ὁρῶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντα εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοῦτον συνουσίας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπόκρυφον πατρὸς τῷ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ ἐραστῇ.

12 Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπε, Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄλλα τέ σου πολλὰ ἄγαμαι καὶ ὅτι νῦν ἅμα χαριζόμενος Καλλίᾳ καὶ παιδεύεις αὐτὸν οἷόνπερ χρὴ εἶναι.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐφραίνηται, βούλομαι αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι ὡς καὶ πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὁ τοῦ σώματος
13 ἔρως. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδεμία ἀξιόλογος πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. φιλεῖν γε μὴν τῶν μὲν τὸ ἦθος ἀγαμένων ἀνάγκη ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐθελουσία καλεῖται· τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμούντων πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς τρόπους μέμφονται
14 καὶ μισοῦσι τῶν ἐρωμένων· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα στέρξωσι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ταχὺ δήπου παρακμάζει, ἀπολείποντος δὲ τούτου ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν φιλίαν συναπομαραίνεσθαι, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ὅσονπερ ἂν χρόνον ἴῃ ἐπὶ τὸ φρονιμώτερον καὶ
15 ἀξιεραστοτέρα γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῆς

many by-names. I do know, however, that in the case of Aphrodite there are separate altars and temples for the two, and also rituals, those of the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite excelling in looseness, those of the 'Heavenly' in chastity. One might conjecture, also, that different types of love come from the different sources, carnal love from the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite, and from the 'Heavenly' spiritual love, love of friendship and of noble conduct. That is the sort of love, Callias, that seems to have you in its grip. I infer this from the noble nature of the one you love and because I see that you include his father in your meetings with him. For the virtuous lover does not make any of these matters a secret from the father of his beloved."

"Marry," quoth Hermogenes, "you arouse my admiration in numerous ways, Socrates, but now more than ever, because in the very act of flattering Callias you are in fact educating him to conform to the ideal."

"True," he replied; "and to add to his pleasure, I wish to bear testimony to him that spiritual love is far superior to carnal. For we all know that there is no converse worth the mention that does not comprise affection. Now affection on the part of those who feel admiration for character is commonly termed a pleasant and willing constraint; whereas many of those who have a merely physical concupiscence reprehend and detest the ways of those they love. But suppose they are satisfied on both scores; yet the bloom of youth soon passes its prime, and as this disappears, affection also inevitably fades away as fast; but the soul becomes more and more lovable the longer it progresses toward wisdom. Besides, in

μορφῆς χρήσει ἔνεστί τις καὶ κόρος, ὥστε ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σιτία διὰ πλησμονήν, ταῦτα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ πάσχειν· ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία διὰ τὸ ἁγνὴ εἶναι καὶ ἀκορεστοτέρα ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι, ὥς γ᾽ ἄν τις οἰηθείη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεπαφροδιτοτέρα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχὴ ἐν ᾗ αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ
16 ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι. ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἄγαταί τε καὶ φιλεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον θάλλουσα μορφῇ τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἤθει αἰδήμονί τε καὶ γενναίῳ ψυχὴ εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ἥλιξιν ἡγεμονική τε ἅμα καὶ φιλόφρων οὖσα οὐδὲν ἐπιδεῖται λόγου· ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐραστὴν ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, καὶ
17 τοῦτο διδάξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τίς μισεῖν δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ὑφ᾽ οὗ εἰδείη καλός τε κἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁρῴη αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδέα σπουδάζοντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πιστεύοι μήτ᾽ ἂν παρά τι ποιήσῃ μήτ᾽ ἂν καμὼν ἀμορφότερος γένηται, μειωθῆναι ἂν τὴν φιλίαν;
18 οἷς γε μὴν κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτους ἡδέως μὲν προσορᾶν ἀλλήλους, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ προνοεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλων, συνήδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσι, συνάχθεσθαι δὲ ἤν τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ, τότε δ᾽ εὐφραινομένους διατελεῖν ὅταν ὑγιαίνοντες συνῶσιν, ἢν δὲ κάμῃ ὁποτεροσοῦν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν τὴν συνουσίαν ἔχειν, καὶ

the enjoyment of physical beauty there is a point of surfeit, so that one cannot help feeling toward his favourite the same effect that he gets toward food by gratification of the appetite. But affection for the soul, being pure, is also less liable to satiety, though it does not follow, as one might suppose, that it is also less rich in the graces of Aphrodite; on the contrary, our prayer that the goddess will bestow her grace on our words and deeds is manifestly answered. Now, no further argument is necessary to show that a soul verdant with the beauty of freeborn men and with a disposition that is reverent and noble, a soul that from the very first displays its leadership among its own fellows and is kindly withal, feels an admiration and an affection for the object of its love; but I will go on to prove the reasonableness of the position that such a lover will have his affection returned. First, who could feel dislike for one by whom he knew himself to be regarded as the pattern of nobleness, and, in the next place, saw that he made his favourite's honour of more account than his own pleasure, and beside this felt assured that this affection would not be lessened under any circumstances, no matter whether he suffered some reverse or lost his comeliness through the ravages of illness? Moreover, must not those who enjoy a mutual affection unavoidably take pleasure in looking into each other's faces, converse in amity, and trust and be trusted, and not only take thought each for the other but also take a common joy in prosperity and feel a common distress if some ill fortune befall, and live in happiness when their society is attended by sound health, but be much more constantly together if one or the other become ill, and be even more solicitous, each for the other,

ἀπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;
οὐ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφρόδιτα; διά γέ τοι τὰ
τοιαῦτα ἔργα ἅμα ἐρῶντες τῆς φιλίας καὶ χρώ-
19 μενοι αὐτῇ εἰς γῆρας διατελοῦσι. τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
σώματος κρεμάμενον διὰ τί ἀντιφιλήσειεν ἂν ὁ
παῖς; πότερον ὅτι ἑαυτῷ μὲν νέμει ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ,
τῷ δὲ παιδὶ τὰ ἐπονειδιστότατα; ἢ διότι ἃ σπεύ-
δει πράττειν παρὰ τῶν παιδικῶν, εἴργει μάλιστα
20 τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπὸ τούτων; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ
βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πείθει, διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον μιση-
τέος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βιαζόμενος ἑαυτὸν πονηρὸν ἀπο-
δεικνύει, ὁ δὲ πείθων τὴν τοῦ ἀναπειθομένου
21 ψυχὴν διαφθείρει. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ χρημάτων
γε ἀπεμπολῶν τὴν ὥραν τί μᾶλλον στέρξει τὸν
πριάμενον ἢ ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ πωλῶν καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος;
οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε ὡραῖος ἀώρῳ, οὐδὲ ὅτι γε καλὸς
οὐκέτι καλῷ καὶ ἐρῶντι οὐκ ἐρῶν ὁμιλεῖ φιλήσει
αὐτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὥσπερ γυνὴ
κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις εὐφροσυνῶν,
ἀλλὰ νήφων μεθύοντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης θεᾶται.
22 ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑπερορᾶν ἐγ-
γίγνεται αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. καὶ σκοπῶν δ' ἄν τις
εὕροι ἐκ μὲν τῶν διὰ τοὺς τρόπους φιλουμένων
οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν γεγενημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀναιδοῦς
23 ὁμιλίας πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ ἀνόσια πεπραγμένα. ὡς
δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἡ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλ-
λον ἢ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαπῶντι, νῦν τοῦτο δηλώ-

when absent than when present? Are not all these things marked by Aphrodite's grace? It is by conducting themselves thus that men continue mutually to love friendship and enjoy it clear down to old age. But what is there to induce a favourite to make a return of affection to a lover who bases his feeling solely on the flesh? Would it be the consideration that the lover allots to himself the joys he desires but gives the favourite only what excites the deepest contempt? Or that he conceals, as best he can, from the favourite's relatives the ends that he is bent on attaining? As for his using entreaty rather than coercion, that is all the stronger reason for detestation. For any one who applies force merely discovers his rascality, but he who uses persuasion corrupts the soul of the one upon whom he prevails. Once more, how will he who traffics in his beauty feel greater affection toward the buyer than he who puts his produce up for sale and disposes of it in the open market? For assuredly he will not be moved to affection because he is a youthful companion to one who is not youthful, or because he is handsome when the other is no longer so, or because he is untouched by passion when the other is in its sway. For a youth does not share in the pleasure of the intercourse as a woman does, but looks on, sober, at another in love's intoxication. Consequently, it need not excite any surprise if contempt for the lover is engendered in him. If one looked into the matter, also, he would descry no ill effect when people are loved for their personality, but that many shocking results have come from companionship lost to shame. I will now go on to show also that the union is servile when one's regard is for the body

σω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παιδεύων λέγειν τε ἃ δεῖ καὶ
πράττειν δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ Χείρων καὶ Φοῖνιξ
ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως τιμῷτο, ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὀρεγό-
μενος εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς περιέποιτο. ἀεὶ
γάρ τοι προσαιτῶν καὶ προσδεόμενος ἢ φιλήματος
24 ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ψηλαφήματος παρακολουθεῖ. εἰ
δὲ λαμυρώτερον λέγω, μὴ θαυμάζετε· ὅ τε γὰρ
οἶνος συνεπαίρει καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ σύνοικος ἐμοὶ ἔρως κεν-
τρίζει εἰς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἔρωτα αὐτῷ παρρησιά-
25 ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ δοκεῖ μοι ὁ μὲν τῷ εἴδει τὸν
νοῦν προσέχων μεμισθωμένῳ χῶρον ἐοικέναι. οὐ
γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελεῖται,
ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλεῖστα ὡραῖα καρπώσεται.
ὁ δὲ τῆς φιλίας ἐφιέμενος μᾶλλον ἔοικε τῷ τὸν
οἰκεῖον ἀγρὸν κεκτημένῳ· πάντοθεν γοῦν φέρων
ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται πλείονος ἄξιον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον.
26 καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ὃς μὲν ἂν εἰδῇ ὅτι ὁ
τοῦ εἴδους ἐπαρκῶν ἄρξει τοῦ ἐραστοῦ, εἰκὸς
αὐτὸν τἆλλα ῥᾳδιουργεῖν· ὃς δ' ἂν γιγνώσκῃ ὅτι
ἂν μὴ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ᾖ, οὐ καθέξει τὴν φιλίαν,
τοῦτον προσήκει μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
27 μέγιστον δ' ἀγαθὸν τῷ ὀρεγομένῳ ἐκ παιδικῶν
φίλον ἀγαθὸν ποιήσασθαι ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸν
ἀσκεῖν ἀρετήν. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε πονηρὰ αὐτὸν
ποιοῦντα ἀγαθὸν τὸν συνόντα ἀποδεῖξαι, οὐδέ γε
ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἀκρασίαν παρεχόμενον ἐγκρατῆ
28 καὶ αἰδούμενον τὸν ἐρώμενον ποιῆσαι. ἐπιθυμῶ
δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Καλλία, καὶ μυθολογῆσαι ὡς οὐ
μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες τὴν τῆς

1 Cheiron, the just Centaur, and Phoenix, an exile who was received into the household of Peleus; both were tutors to the young Achilles.

rather than when it is for the soul. For he who inculcates right speech and conduct would merit the honour given by Achilles to Cheiron and Phoenix;[1] but the man who lusts only after the flesh would with good reason be treated like a mendicant; for he is always dogging the footsteps of his favourite, begging and beseeching the favour of one more kiss or some other caress. Do not be surprised at my plain speaking; the wine helps to incite me, and the kind of love that ever dwells with me spurs me on to say what I think about its opposite. For, to my way of thinking, the man whose attention is attracted only by his beloved's appearance is like one who has rented a farm; his aim is not to increase its value but to gain from it as much of a harvest as he can for himself. On the other hand, the man whose goal is friendship is more like one possessing a farm of his own; at any rate he utilizes all sources to enhance his loved one's worth. Furthermore, the favourite who realizes that he who lavishes physical charms will be the lover's sovereign will in all likelihood be loose in his general conduct; but the one who feels that he cannot keep his lover faithful without nobility of character will more probably give heed to virtue. But the greatest blessing that befalls the man who yearns to render his favourite a good friend is the necessity of himself making virtue his habitual practice. For one cannot produce goodness in his companion while his own conduct is evil, nor can he himself exhibit shamelessness and incontinence and at the same time render his beloved self-controlled and reverent. My heart is set on showing you, Callias, on the basis of olden tales, also, that not only humankind but also gods and

ψυχῆς φιλίαν περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὴν τοῦ σώματος
29 χρῆσιν ποιοῦνται. Ζεύς τε γὰρ ὅσων μὲν θνητῶν
οὐσῶν μορφῆς ἠράσθη, συγγενόμενος εἴα αὐτὰς
θνητὰς εἶναι· ὅσων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀγασθείη, ἀθανά-
τους τούτους ἐποίει· ὧν Ἡρακλῆς μὲν καὶ Διόσ-
30 κοροί εἰσι, λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καὶ ἐγὼ δέ
φημι καὶ Γανυμήδην οὐ σώματος ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς
ἕνεκα ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς Ὄλυμπον ἀνενεχθῆναι. μαρτυ-
ρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δήπου
καὶ Ὁμήρῳ,

γάνυται δέ τ' ἀκούων.

τοῦτο δὲ φράζει ὅτι ἥδεται δέ τ' ἀκούων. ἔστι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλοθί που,

πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς.

τοῦτο δ' αὖ λέγει σοφὰ φρεσὶ βουλεύματα εἰδώς.
ἐξ οὖν συναμφοτέρων τούτων οὐχ ἡδυσώματος
ὀνομασθεὶς ὁ Γανυμήδης ἀλλ' ἡδυγνώμων ἐν θεοῖς
31 τετίμηται. ἀλλὰ μήν, ὦ Νικήρατε, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς
Ὁμήρῳ πεποίηται οὐχ ὡς παιδικοῖς Πατρόκλῳ
ἀλλ' ὡς ἑταίρῳ ἀποθανόντι ἐκπρεπέστατα τιμω-
ρῆσαι. καὶ Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ Πυλάδης καὶ Θησεὺς
καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμιθέων
οἱ ἄριστοι ὑμνοῦνται οὐ διὰ τὸ συγκαθεύδειν ἀλλὰ

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[1] Castor and Pollux.

[2] Nothing like the first expression, except the bare occurrence of γάνυται ("he joys"), is to be found anywhere in the extant Homeric poems. The second phrase, also, is not in these poems, although several different expressions much resembling it are to be seen in the *Iliad*, vii. 278, xvii. 325, xviii. 363, xxiv. 88, 282, 674 and the *Odyssey*, ii. 38, xi. 445,

demi-gods set higher value on the friendship of the spirit than on the enjoyment of the body. For in all cases where Zeus became enamoured of mortal women for their beauty, though he united with them he suffered them to remain mortal; but all those persons whom he delighted in for their souls' sake he made immortal. Among the latter are Heracles and the Sons of Zeus;[1] and tradition includes others also. And I aver that even in the case of Ganymede, it was not his person but his spiritual character that influenced Zeus to carry him up to Olympus. This is confirmed by his very name. Homer, you remember, has the words,

'He joys to hear';[2]

that is to say, 'he rejoices to hear;' and in another place,

'harbouring shrewd devices in his heart.'

This, again, means 'harbouring wise counsels in his heart.' So the name given Gany-mede, compounded of the two foregoing elements, signifies not *physically* but *mentally* attractive;[3] hence his honour among the gods. Or again, Niceratus, Homer pictures us Achilles looking upon Patroclus not as the object of his passion but as a comrade, and in this spirit signally avenging his death. So we have songs telling also how Orestes, Pylades, Theseus, Peirithous, and many other illustrious demi-gods wrought glorious deeds of valour side by side, not because

xix. 353, xx. 46. Either Xenophon's memory is faulty or he is quoting from some of the lost epics.

[3] Socrates takes the name Ganymede to be a compound of the two archaic words *ganytai* ("he joys," "exults") and *medea* ("devices," "thoughts").

διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι ἀλλήλους τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλ-
32 λιστα κοινῇ διαπεπρᾶχθαι. τί δέ; τὰ νῦν καλὰ
ἔργα οὐ πάντ' ἂν εὕροι τις ἕνεκα ἐπαίνου ὑπὸ τῶν
καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθελόντων πραττόμενα
μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθιζομένων ἡδονὴν ἀντ' εὐ-
κλείας αἱρεῖσθαι; καίτοι Παυσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγάθω-
νος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐραστὴς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀκρασίᾳ ἐγκαλινδουμένων εἴρηκεν ὡς καὶ στρά-
τευμα ἀλκιμώτατον ἂν γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν τε
33 καὶ ἐραστῶν. τούτους γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἴεσθαι
μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους ἀπολείπειν, θαυμα-
στὰ λέγων, εἴ γε οἱ ψόγου τε ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ
ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθιζόμενοι οὗτοι
34 μάλιστα αἰσχυνοῦνται αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν. καὶ
μαρτύρια δὲ ἐπήγετο ὡς ταῦτα ἐγνωκότες εἶεν καὶ
Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι· συγκαθεύδοντας γοῦν αὐτοῖς
ὅμως παρατάττεσθαι ἔφη τὰ παιδικὰ εἰς τὸν
ἀγῶνα, οὐδὲν τοῦτο σημεῖον λέγων ὅμοιον. ἐκεί-
νοις μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα νόμιμα, ἡμῖν δ' ἐπονείδιστα.
δοκοῦσι δ' ἔμοιγε οἱ μὲν παραταττόμενοι ἀπιστοῦ-
σιν ἐοικέναι μὴ χωρὶς γενόμενοι οἱ ἐρώμενοι οὐκ
35 ἀποτελῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ οἱ νομίζοντες, ἐὰν καὶ ὀρεχθῇ τις
σώματος, μηδενὸς ἂν ἔτι καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ τοῦτον
τυχεῖν, οὕτως τελέως τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἀγαθοὺς
ἀπεργάζονται ὡς καὶ μετὰ ξένων κἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ

they shared a common bed but because of mutual admiration and respect. Moreover, take the splendid feats of the present day; would not a person discover that they are all done for glory's sake by persons willing to endure hardship and jeopardy, rather than by those who are drifting into the habit of preferring pleasure to a good name? Yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, has said in his defence of those who wallow in lasciviousness that the most valiant army, even, would be one recruited of lovers and their favourites! For these, he said, would in his opinion be most likely to be prevented by shame from deserting one another,—a strange assertion, indeed, that persons acquiring an habitual indifference to censure and to abandoned conduct toward one another will be most likely to be deterred by shame from any infamous act. But he went further and adduced as evidence in support of his position both the Thebans and the Eleans, alleging that this was their policy; he stated, in fine, that though sharing common beds they nevertheless assigned to their favourites places alongside themselves in the battle-line. But this is a false analogy; for such practices, though normal among them, with us are banned by the severest reprobation. My own view is that those who assign these posts in battle suggest thereby that they are suspicious that the objects of their love, if left by themselves, will not perform the duties of brave men. In contrast to this, the Lacedaemonians, who hold that if a person so much as feels a carnal concupiscence he will never come to any good end, cause the objects of their love to be so consummately brave that even when arrayed with foreigners and even when not stationed in the same

αὐτῇ[1] ταχθῶσι τῷ ἐραστῇ, ὁμοίως αἰδοῦνται
τοὺς παρόντας ἀπολείπειν. θεὰν γὰρ οὐ τὴν
36 Ἀναίδειαν ἀλλὰ τὴν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι. δοκοῦμεν
δ' ἄν μοι πάντες ὁμόλογοι γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν λέγω,
εἰ ὧδε ἐπισκοποῖμεν, τῷ ποτέρως παιδὶ φιλη-
θέντι μᾶλλον ἄν τις πιστεύσειεν ἢ χρήματα ἢ
τέκνα ἢ χάριτας παρακατατίθεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν
γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῷ εἴδει τοῦ ἐρωμένου
χρώμενον μᾶλλον ἂν ταῦτα πάντα τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν
37 ἐρασμίῳ πιστεῦσαι. σοί γε μήν, ὦ Καλλία,
δοκεῖ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι καὶ θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὅτι
σοι Αὐτολύκου ἔρωτα ἐνέβαλον. ὡς μὲν γὰρ
φιλότιμός ἐστιν εὔδηλον, ὃς τοῦ κηρυχθῆναι ἕνεκα
νικῶν παγκράτιον πολλοὺς μὲν πόνους, πολλὰ δ'
38 ἄλγη ἀνέχεται. εἰ δὲ οἴοιτο μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν καὶ
τὸν πατέρα κοσμήσειν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸς γενήσεσθαι
δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν
πατρίδα αὔξειν τρόπαια τῶν πολεμίων ἱστάμενος,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα περίβλεπτός τε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς
ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, πῶς
οὐκ οἴει αὐτόν, ὅντιν' ἡγοῖτο εἰς ταῦτα συνεργὸν
εἶναι κράτιστον, τοῦτον ταῖς μεγίσταις ἂν τιμαῖς
39 περιέπειν; εἰ οὖν βούλει τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν, σκεπτέον
μέν σοι ποῖα ἐπιστάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἱκανὸς
ἐγένετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν, σκεπτέον δὲ
ποῖά ποτε εἰδὼς Περικλῆς κράτιστος ἐδόκει τῇ
πατρίδι σύμβουλος εἶναι, ἀθρητέον δὲ καὶ πῶς
ποτε Σόλων φιλοσοφήσας νόμους κρατίστους τῇ

[1] αὐτῇ; αὐτῇ πόλει MSS.; Sauppe brackets πόλει.

line with their lovers they just as surely feel ashamed to desert their comrades. For the goddess they worship is not Impudence but Modesty. We could all come to one mind, I think, on the point I am trying to make, if we were to consider the question in this way: of two lads, the objects of the different types of love, which one would a person prefer to trust with his money, or his children, or to lay under the obligation of a favour? My own belief is that even the person whose love is founded on the loved one's physical beauty would in all these cases rather put his trust in him whose loveliness is of the spirit. In your case, Callias, I deem it meet that you should thank Heaven for inspiring you with love for Autolycus. For his ardour for glory is manifest, inasmuch as he undergoes many toils and many bodily discomforts to ensure his being proclaimed victor in the pancratium. Now if he were to believe that he is going not merely to shed lustre on himself and his father but also to acquire through his manly virtue the ability to serve his friends and to exalt his country by setting up trophies of victory over its enemies, and for these reasons draw the admiring glances of all and be famous among both Greeks and barbarians, do you not suppose that he would esteem and honour highly any one whom he looked upon as the best partner in furthering these designs? If, then, you would be in his good graces, you must try to find out what sort of knowledge it was that made Themistocles able to give Greece liberty; you must try to find out what kind of knowledge it was that gave Pericles the name of being his country's wisest counsellor; you must reflect, further, how it was that Solon by deep meditation established in his city laws

πόλει κατέθηκεν, ἐρευνητέον δὲ καὶ ποῖα Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἀσκοῦντες κράτιστοι δοκοῦσιν ἡγεμόνες
εἶναι· πρόξενος δ' εἶ καὶ κατάγονται ἀεὶ παρὰ
40 *σοὶ οἱ κράτιστοι αὐτῶν. ὡς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις*
ταχὺ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὖ ἴσθι.
τὰ μέγιστα γάρ σοι ὑπάρχει· εὐπατρίδης εἶ, τῶν [1]
ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως, ἱερεὺς θεῶν οἳ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβα-
ρον σὺν Ἰάκχῳ ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ
ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημέ-
νων, καὶ σῶμα ἀξιοπρεπέστατον μὲν ἰδεῖν τῆς
41 *πόλεως ἔχεις, ἱκανὸν δὲ μόχθους ὑποφέρειν. εἰ*
δ' ὑμῖν δοκῶ σπουδαιολογῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ
πότον πρέπει, μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάζετε. ἀγαθῶν
γὰρ φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοτίμως ἐφιεμένων
ἀεί ποτε τῇ πόλει συνεραστὴς ὢν διατελῶ.
42 *Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι περὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων διελέγοντο,*

[1] *τῶν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως, ἱερεὺς θεῶν*; *ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως* MSS. The MS. reading should mean: "You are of aristocratic birth, a priest serving the gods who succeeded Erechtheus (or, gods of Erechtheus' line), who under the leadership of Iacchus" etc. This involves two difficulties: (1) in the numerous Attic references to this brilliant period, we find no hint of any part taken in the Persian Wars by any descendants or "successors" of Erechtheus; and (2) there is no evidence that Callias was a priest to any such descendants or "successors." The suggested transposition of the text avoids these difficulties and provides for two well-authenticated facts: (1) the tradition mentioned by Herodotus and Plutarch that the Eleusinian deities encouraged the Greeks just before the battle of Salamis by a portentous vision; and (2) Callias's priesthood in the Eleusinian worship.

[1] In the absence of regular consular representation, any Greek city-state could secure commercial and political agents in other cities only by getting influential citizens there to consent to use their good offices, as occasion might arise, in its behalf or in behalf of its citizens when abroad. Such a local native representative of another state was called a *proxenus.*

of surpassing worth; you must search and find out what kind of practices it is that gives the Lacedaemonians the reputation of being pre-eminent military commanders; for you are their proxenus,[1] and their foremost citizens are always being entertained at your house. You may regard it as certain, therefore, that our city would be quick to entrust itself to your hands, if you so desire. For you possess the highest qualifications for such a trust: you are of aristocratic birth, of Erechtheus' line,[2] a priest serving the gods who under the leadership of Iacchus took the field against the barbarian;[3] and in our day you outshine your predecessors in the splendour of your priestly office in the festival;[4] and you possess a person more goodly to the eye than any other in the city and one at the same time able to withstand effort and hardship. If what I say appears to you gentlemen to be too grave and earnest for a drinking party, I beg you again not to be surprised. For during practically all my life I have been at one with the commonwealth in loving men who to a nature already good add a zealous desire for virtue."

The rest of the company now engaged in a dis-

[2] Callias's family belonged to the priestly clan of the Ceryces, who traced their lineage back to Ceryx, son of Hermes and Aglaurus. The latter, however, was not a descendant of Erechtheus, but one of his nurses.

[3] Herodotus (VIII, 65) and Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles*, XV) report the tradition that while the Greek fleet was at anchor near Salamis just before the critical sea-fight, great elation was caused at sight of a big cloud of dust (or, in the later version, a brilliant light) off toward Eleusis, and a wonderful sound as of the Eleusinian festival with its cries to Iacchus, followed by a cloud that drifted directly toward the fleet.

[4] In addition to being one of the priestly Ceryces, Callias was an hereditary torch-bearer in the Eleusinian festival.

ὁ δ' Αὐτόλυκος κατεθεᾶτο τὸν Καλλίαν. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας δὲ παρορῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν σύ με, ὦ Σώκρατες, μαστροπεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως πράττω τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀρεστὸς ὦ αὐτῇ;

43 Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἤν ὁρῶσί γέ σε μὴ τῷ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψευδὴς δόξα ταχὺ ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας· ἡ δ' ἀληθὴς ἀνδραγαθία, ἢν μὴ θεὸς βλάπτῃ, ἀεὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λαμπροτέραν τὴν εὔκλειαν συμπαρέχεται.

IX. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. Αὐτόλυκος δέ, ἤδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον· καὶ ὁ Λύκων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ συνεξιὼν ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶπε· Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλός γε κἀγαθὸς δοκεῖς μοι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν θρόνος τις ἔνδον κατετέθη, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀριάδνη εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Διονύσου θάλαμον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ἥξει Διόνυσος ὑποπεπωκὼς παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἔπειτα παιξοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

3 Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὔπω δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου ηὐλεῖτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός. ἔνθα δὴ ἠγάσθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἀκού-

cussion of the views propounded by Socrates; but Autolycus kept his eyes fixed on Callias. And Callias, addressing Socrates, but looking beyond him and returning the gaze of Autolycus, said: "So you intend acting the procurer, do you, Socrates, to bring me to the attention of the commonwealth, so that I may enter politics, and the state may always look upon me with favour?"

"Assuredly," was the reply, "that is, if people see that you set your heart on virtue, not in pretence, but in reality. For false reputation is soon exposed when tried by experience, whereas true manly virtue,—barring the interposition of Providence,—confers ever more and more brilliant glory when put to the test of actual deeds."

IX. Their conversation ended here. Autolycus got up to go out for a walk (it being now his usual time); and his father Lycon, as he was departing to accompany him, turned back and said: "So help me Hera, Socrates, you seem to me to have a truly noble character."

After he had withdrawn, a chair of state, first of all, was set down in the room, and then the Syracusan came in with the announcement: "Gentlemen, Ariadne will now enter the chamber set apart for her and Dionysus; after that, Dionysus, a little flushed with wine drunk at a banquet of the gods, will come to join her; and then they will disport themselves together."

Then, to start proceedings, in came Ariadne, apparelled as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Dionysus being still invisible, there was heard the Bacchic music played on a flute. Then it was that the assemblage was filled with admiration of the dancing master. For as soon as Ariadne heard the

σασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὡς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι
ἀσμένη ἤκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὒ οὐδὲ ἀνέστη,
4 δήλη δ' ἦν μόλις ἠρεμοῦσα. ἐπεί γε μὴν κατεῖδεν
αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ
περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ' αἰδουμένῃ μὲν
ἐῴκει, ὅμως δὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ
δὲ συμπόται ὁρῶντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ
5 ἐβόων Αὖθις. ὡς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος
συνανέστησε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀριάδνην, ἐκ τού-
του δὴ φιλούντων τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἀλλήλους
σχήματα παρῆν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὁρῶντες ὄντως
καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδνην,
οὐ σκώπτοντας δὲ ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι
6 φιλοῦντας, πάντες ἀνεπτερωμένοι ἐθεῶντο. καὶ
γὰρ ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν
εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνυούσης ὥστε
μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
ἅπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἦ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν
παῖδα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἐῴκεσαν γὰρ οὐ
δεδιδαγμένοις τὰ σχήματα ἀλλ' ἐφειμένοις πράτ-
7 τειν ἃ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν. τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται
ἰδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς εἰς
εὐνὴν ἀπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμνυσαν,
οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
ἀπήλαυνον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὅπως τού-
των τύχοιεν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν
Καλλίᾳ περιπατήσοντες ἀπῆλθον.

Αὕτη τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσις ἐγένετο.

strain, her action was such that every one might have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus, nor even rise, yet it was clear that she kept her composure with difficulty. But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner sat himself on her lap, and putting his arms about her gave her a kiss. Her demeanour was all modesty, and yet she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters beheld it, they kept clapping and crying "encore!" Then when Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, there was presented the impersonation of lovers kissing and caressing each other. The onlookers viewed a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and they were all raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm as they looked on. For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus but all the bystanders as well would have taken their oaths in confirmation that the youth and the maid surely felt a mutual affection. For theirs was the appearance not of actors who had been taught their poses but of persons now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires. At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other's embrace and obviously leaving for the bridal couch, those who were unwedded swore that they would take to themselves wives, and those who were already married mounted horse and rode off to their wives that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son in their walk.

So broke up the banquet held that evening.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE TO THE JURY

INTRODUCTION

In the year 399 B.C., Socrates, then about seventy years old, was brought to trial by Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon on an indictment charging him with subversion of religion and morals. The fullest account of Socrates at this crisis is to be found in Plato's *Euthyphro*, *Apology of Socrates*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*. Apparently other admirers also of the great man had described the trial and the last days of his life, but Xenophon, who at that time was with the conglomerate army of Cyrus the Younger on its memorable trip into the heart of Persia, seems to have felt that these various accounts left out one essential point, which he proceeds to develop in the *Apology* or *Defence*.

The first sentence of this composition suggests an intimate connection with something preceding;[1] but this connection is now broken, and whether the *Defence*, as Mahaffy thought, is the original conclusion to Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates*, where, in the last chapter, we find practically the same material in smaller compass, or was meant to be part of some other writing, we have no means to determine. Almost equally indeterminate is the date. It is clear that when the *Defence* was written, both Socrates and Anytus (whose death occurred we

[1] Compare also the beginning of the *Oeconomicus*.

know not when) had been gone several years, and that several accounts of the trial had already appeared. But there is nothing to show how late the work was written, nor whether it preceded or followed the *Apology* of Plato.

Hermogenes, the authority on whom Xenophon relied, the indigent brother of the rich Callias, appears, both from Xenophon's *Defence* and *Symposium* and from Plato, to have been an intimate in the Socratic circle. Although he is not mentioned in the doubtless incomplete list given in Plato's *Apology* (33 D–34 A) of friends and disciples present at the trial, he is named (in Plato's *Phaedo* 59B) as one of those who were with Socrates at the time of his execution, and so may be presumed to have been cognizant of what happened in those tragic days.

Xenophon's design in writing the present account was not to give a full report of the trial or even of Socrates' address to the jury, but to show that because Socrates believed it time for him to die he had a common-sense basis for his sublime attitude before the court; but while Plato, the only eye-witness whose work is extant, represents Socrates as telling the jury that he can face death calmly because of his confidence in a life hereafter,—a doctrine greatly elaborated in the *Phaedo*,—Xenophon does not even mention this faith either in this partial report of the trial or in his *Memoirs of Socrates*, but says that in conversation with Hermogenes before the trial as well as with other friends after it Socrates founded his contentment on the prospect of avoiding the disabilities of old age. Dread of such ills had doubtless filled many a Greek's heart; at

any rate the theme comes out a number of times in poetry, from the haunting elegy of Mimnermus on. And it seems quite likely that in conversation Socrates had mentioned this commonplace comfort as one reason for his willingness to die;[1] but whether Plato did not hear it, or thought it not worth recording beside more spiritual thoughts, at any rate he nowhere reports it,[2] and it is certain that in the publicity of the court-room Socrates dwelt rather on his hope of immortality and of communion with the great men of the past. The reader who wishes to get a true picture of this great man at the climax of his life should therefore not fail to supplement Xenophon's professedly incomplete account by the fuller one of Plato.

[1] Perhaps with the feeling that here at least was an argument that would appeal to his friends.

[2] The nearest approach to such a sentiment is found in the closing words of Socrates' defence as reported by Plato (*Apology*, 41D): ". . . but this is clear to me, that it were better for me now to die and once and for all be rid of troubles."

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ[1]

1. Σωκράτους δὲ ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐβουλεύσατο περί τε τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου. γεγράφασι μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδη ἑαυτῷ ἡγεῖτο αἱρετώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βίου θάνατον, τοῦτο οὐ διεσαφήνισαν· ὥστε ἀφρονεστέρα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται εἶναι ἡ μεγαλη-
2 γορία. Ἑρμογένης μέντοι ὁ Ἱππονίκου ἑταῖρός τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξήγγειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα ὥστε πρέπουσαν φαίνεσθαι τὴν μεγαληγορίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔφη ὁρῶν αὐτὸν περὶ πάντων μᾶλλον διαλεγόμενον ἢ περὶ τῆς
3 δίκης εἰπεῖν, Οὐκ ἐχρῆν μέντοι σκοπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ὅ τι ἀπολογήσῃ; τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποκρίνασθαι, Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι ἀπολογεῖσθαι μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς[2] ἐρέσθαι, Πῶς; Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον διαγεγένημαι ποιῶν· ἥνπερ νομίζω μελέτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀπολο-
4 γίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς[3] πάλιν λέγειν, Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ Ἀθηναίων δικαστήρια ὡς πολλάκις μὲν οὐδὲν

[1] Sauppe omits ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ.
[2] αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.
[3] αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE TO THE JURY

It seems to me fitting to hand down to memory, furthermore, how Socrates, on being indicted, deliberated on his defence and on his end. It is true that others have written about this, and that all of them have reproduced the loftiness of his words,—a fact which proves that his utterance really was of the character intimated;—but they have not shown clearly that he had now come to the conclusion that for him death was more to be desired than life; and hence his lofty utterance appears rather ill-considered. Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, however, was a companion of his and has given us reports of such a nature as to show that the sublimity of his speech was appropriate to the resolve he had made. For he stated that on seeing Socrates discussing any and every subject rather than the trial, he had said: "Socrates, ought you not to be giving some thought to what defence you are going to make?" That Socrates had at first replied, "Why, do I not seem to you to have spent my whole life in preparing to defend myself?" Then when he asked, "How so?" he had said, "Because all my life I have been guiltless of wrong-doing; and that I consider the finest preparation for a defence." Then when Hermogenes again asked, "Do you not observe that the Athenian courts

ἀδικοῦντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολλάκις δὲ ἀδικοῦντας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου οἰκτίσαντες ἢ ἐπιχαρίτως εἰπόντας ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ δὶς ἤδη ἐπιχειρήσαντός μου σκοπεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐναντιοῦταί μοι τὸ
5 δαιμόνιον. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς[1] εἰπεῖν, Θαυμαστὰ λέγεις, τὸν δ' αὖ ἀποκρίνασθαι, Ἦ θαυμαστὸν νομίζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἤδη τελευτᾶν; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἂν βέλτιον ἐμοῦ βεβιωκέναι; ὅπερ γὰρ ἥδιστόν ἐστιν, ᾔδειν ὁσίως μοι καὶ δικαίως ἅπαντα τὸν βίον βεβιωμένον· ὥστε ἰσχυρῶς ἀγάμενος ἐμαυτὸν ταὐτὰ εὕρισκον καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ συγγιγνομένους γιγνώσκοντας περὶ ἐμοῦ.
6 νῦν δὲ εἰ ἔτι προβήσεται ἡ ἡλικία, οἶδ' ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἔσται τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἀποτελεῖσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν τε χεῖρον καὶ ἀκούειν ἧττον καὶ δυσμαθέστερον εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἔμαθον ἐπιλησμονέστερον. ἢν δὲ αἰσθάνωμαι χείρων γιγνόμενος καὶ καταμέμφωμαι ἐμαυτόν, πῶς ἄν, εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ ἔτι ἂν
7 ἡδέως βιοτεύοιμι; ἴσως δέ τοι, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δι' εὐμένειαν προξενεῖ μοι οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡλικίας καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ᾗ ῥᾷστα. ἢν γὰρ νῦν κατακριθῇ μου,[2] δῆλον ὅτι ἐξέσται μοι τῇ τελευτῇ χρῆσθαι ἣ ῥᾴστη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τούτου ἐπιμεληθέντων κέκριται, ἀπραγμονεστάτη δὲ τοῖς φίλοις, πλεῖστον δὲ πόθον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῦ τελευτῶντος. ὅταν γὰρ

[1] αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.
[2] Sauppe reads (by a misprint ?) μοι.

have often been carried away by an eloquent speech and have condemned innocent men to death, and often on the other hand the guilty have been acquitted either because their plea aroused compassion or because their speech was witty?" "Yes, indeed!" he had answered; "and I have tried twice already to meditate on my defence, but my divine sign interposes." And when Hermogenes observed, "That is a surprising statement," he had replied, "Do you think it surprising that even God holds it better for me to die now? Do you not know that I would refuse to concede that any man has lived a better life than I have up to now? For I have realized that my whole life has been spent in righteousness toward God and man,—a fact that affords the greatest satisfaction; and so I have felt a deep self-respect and have discovered that my associates hold corresponding sentiments toward me. But now, if my years are prolonged, I know that the frailties of old age will inevitably be realized,—that my vision must be less perfect and my hearing less keen, that I shall be slower to learn and more forgetful of what I have learned. If I perceive my decay and take to complaining, how," he had continued, "could I any longer take pleasure in life? Perhaps," he added, "God in his kindness is taking my part and securing me the opportunity of ending my life not only in season but also in the way that is easiest. For if I am condemned now, it will clearly be my privilege to suffer a death that is adjudged by those who have superintended this matter to be not only the easiest but also the least irksome to one's friends and one that implants in them the deepest feeling of loss for the dead. For when a person leaves behind in

ἄσχημον μὲν μηδὲν μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις
τῶν παρόντων καταλίπηται, ὑγιὲς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένην φιλοφρονεῖσθαι ἀπο-
μαραίνηται, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτον ποθεινὸν
8 εἶναι; ὀρθῶς δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τότε μου ἠναντιοῦντο,
φάναι αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἐπισκέψει ὅτε ἐδόκει
ἡμῖν[1] ζητητέα εἶναι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ ἀποφευ-
κτικά. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο διεπραξάμην, δῆλον ὅτι
ἡτοιμασάμην ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤδη λῆξαι τοῦ βίου ἢ
νόσοις ἀλγυνόμενος τελευτῆσαι ἢ γήρᾳ, εἰς ὃ
πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεῖ καὶ μάλα ἔρημα τῶν
9 εὐφροσυνῶν. μὰ Δί', εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες,
ἐγὼ ταῦτα οὐδὲ προθυμήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅσων νομίζω
τετυχηκέναι καλῶν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ'
ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἣν ἐγὼ δόξαν ἔχω περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ,
ταύτην ἀναφαίνων εἰ βαρυνῶ τοὺς δικαστάς,
αἱρήσομαι τελευτᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνελευθέρως τὸ ζῆν
ἔτι προσαιτῶν κερδᾶναι τὸν πολὺ χείρω βίον ἀντὶ
θανάτου.

10 Οὕτως δὲ γνόντα αὐτὸν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ κατηγό-
ρησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίδικοι ὡς οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομί-
ζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζοι, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια
εἰσφέροι καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείροι, παρελθόντα
11 εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον
θαυμάζω Μελήτου ὅ τῳ ποτὲ γνοὺς λέγει ὡς ἐγὼ
οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω· ἐπεὶ θύοντά
γέ με ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων
βωμῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες ἑώρων
12 καὶ αὐτὸς Μέλητος, εἰ ἐβούλετο. καινά γε μὴν
δαιμόνια πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ εἰσφέροιμι λέγων ὅτι θεοῦ

[1] Sauppe adopts Weiske's emendation ὑμῖν.

the hearts of his companions no remembrance to cause a blush or a pang, but dissolution comes while he still possesses a sound body and a spirit capable of showing kindliness, how could such a one fail to be sorely missed? It was with good reason," Socrates had continued, "that the gods opposed[1] my studying up my speech at the time when we held that by fair means or foul we must find some plea that would effect my acquittal. For if I had achieved this end, it is clear that instead of now passing out of life, I should merely have provided for dying in the throes of illness or vexed by old age, the sink into which all distresses flow, unrelieved by any joy. As Heaven is my witness, Hermogenes," he had gone on, "I shall never court that fate; but if I am going to offend the jury by declaring all the blessings that I feel gods and men have bestowed on me, as well as my personal opinion of myself, I shall prefer death to begging meanly for longer life and thus gaining a life far less worthy in exchange for death."

Hermogenes stated that with this resolve Socrates came before the jury after his adversaries had charged him with not believing in the gods worshipped by the state and with the introduction of new deities in their stead and with corruption of the young, and replied: "One thing that I marvel at in Meletus, gentlemen, is what may be the basis of his assertion that I do not believe in the gods worshipped by the state; for all who have happened to be near at the time, as well as Meletus himself,—if he so desired,—have seen me sacrificing at the communal festivals and on the public altars. As for introducing 'new divinities,' how could I be guilty of that merely in

[1] See note on p. 494.

μοι φωνὴ φαίνεται σημαίνουσα ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ φθόγγοις οἰωνῶν καὶ οἱ φήμαις ἀνθρώπων χρώμενοι φωναῖς δήπου τεκμαίρονται. βροντὰς δὲ ἀμφιλέξει τις ἢ μὴ φωνεῖν ἢ μὴ μέγιστον οἰωνιστήριον εἶναι; ἡ δὲ Πυθοῖ ἐν τῷ τρίποδι ἱέρεια οὐ καὶ αὐτὴ φωνῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαγ-
13 γέλλει; ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προειδέναι γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ᾧ βούλεται, καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐγώ φημι, οὕτω πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰωνούς τε καὶ φήμας καὶ συμβόλους τε καὶ μάντεις ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς προσημαίνοντας εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο δαιμόνιον καλῶ, καὶ οἶμαι οὕτως ὀνομάζων καὶ ἀληθέστερα καὶ ὁσιώτερα λέγειν τῶν τοῖς ὄρνισιν ἀνατιθέντων τὴν τῶν θεῶν δύναμιν. ὥς γε μὴν οὐ ψεύδομαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχω τεκμήριον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φίλων πολλοῖς δὴ ἐξαγγείλας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλεύματα οὐδεπώποτε ψευσάμενος ἐφάνην.

14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἐθορύβουν, οἱ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ φθονοῦντες εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν μειζόνων ἢ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνοι, πάλιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἄγε δὴ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἄλλα, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῶν

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[1] Or "divine sign." Here, as earlier, the mere adjective is used; but in Plato's *Theages* (128 D ff.) and *Apology* (31 D) this admonitory something is described as a voice sent by heavenly dispensation, and is called variously "the sign" (*Apology* 41 D), "the usual sign" (*Apology* 40 C), "the divine sign" (*Rep.* 496 C), "the usual divine sign" (*Euthyd.* 272 E, *Phaedrus* 242 B, *Theages* 129 B), "the sign from God" (*Apology* 40 B), "something God-sent and divine" (*Apology* 31D). Plato

asserting that a voice of God is made manifest to me indicating my duty? Surely those who take their omens from the cries of birds and the utterances of men form their judgments on 'voices.' Will any one dispute either that thunder utters its 'voice,' or that it is an omen of the greatest moment? Does not the very priestess who sits on the tripod at Delphi divulge the god's will through a 'voice'? But more than that, in regard to God's foreknowledge of the future and his forewarning thereof to whomsoever he will, these are the same terms, I assert, that all men use, and this is their belief. The only difference between them and me is that whereas they call the sources of their forewarning 'birds,' 'utterances,' 'chance meetings,' 'prophets,' I call mine a 'divine' thing;[1] and I think that in using such a term I am speaking with more truth and deeper religious feeling than do those who ascribe the gods' power to birds. Now that I do not lie against God I have the following proof: I have revealed to many of my friends the counsels which God has given me, and in no instance has the event shown that I was mistaken."

Hermogenes further reported that when the jurors raised a clamour at hearing these words, some of them disbelieving his statements, others showing jealousy at his receiving greater favours even from the gods than they, Socrates resumed: "Hark ye; let me tell you something more, so that those of you who feel so inclined may have still greater

reports Socrates' description of this as a voice not directing his actions but serving only as a deterrent when he or his friends were contemplating doing something inadvisable.

ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτῶντος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον.

15 Ὡς δ᾽ αὖ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἐθορύβουν, αὖθις εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἀλλὰ μείζω μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν χρησμοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις νομοθετήσαντος ἢ περὶ ἐμοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν νεὼ εἰσιόντα προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, Φροντίζω πότερα θεόν σε εἴπω ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἐμὲ δὲ θεῷ μὲν οὐκ εἴκασεν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολλῷ προέκρινεν ὑπερφέρειν. ὅμως δὲ ὑμεῖς μηδὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκῇ πιστεύσητε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον
16 ἐπισκοπεῖτε ὧν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. τίνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ἧττον ἐμοῦ δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις; τίνα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεριώτερον, ὃς παρ᾽ οὐδενὸς οὔτε δῶρα οὔτε μισθὸν δέχομαι; δικαιότερον δὲ τίνα ἂν εἰκότως νομίσαιτε τοῦ οὕτω[1] πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνηρμοσμένου ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι; σοφὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις εἰκότως ἄνδρα φήσειεν εἶναι ὃς ἐξ ὅτουπερ ξυνιέναι τὰ λεγόμενα ἠρξάμην οὐπώποτε διέλιπον καὶ
17 ζητῶν καὶ μανθάνων ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν; ὡς δὲ οὐ μάτην ἐπόνουν οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν καὶ τάδε τεκμήρια εἶναι, τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν πολίτας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων, πολλοὺς δὲ ξένων ἐκ πάντων προαιρεῖσθαι ἐμοὶ ξυνεῖναι; ἐκείνου δὲ τί φήσομεν αἴτιον

[1] οὕτω added by Cobet.

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[1] A very enthusiastic follower of Socrates.

disbelief in my being honoured of Heaven. Once on a time when Chaerephon[1] made inquiry at the Delphic oracle concerning me, in the presence of many people Apollo answered that no man was more free than I, or more just, or more prudent."

When the jurors, naturally enough, made a still greater tumult on hearing this statement, he said that Socrates again went on: "And yet, gentlemen, the god uttered in oracles greater things of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian law-giver, than he did of me. For there is a legend that, as Lycurgus entered the temple, the god thus addressed him: 'I am pondering whether to call you god or man.' Now Apollo did not compare me to a god; he did, however, judge that I far excelled the rest of mankind. However, do not believe the god even in this without due grounds, but examine the god's utterance in detail. First, who is there in your knowledge that is less a slave to his bodily appetites than I am? Who in the world more free,—for I accept neither gifts nor pay from any one? Whom would you with reason regard as more just than the one so reconciled to his present possessions as to want nothing beside that belongs to another? And would not a person with good reason call me a wise man, who from the time when I began to understand spoken words have never left off seeking after and learning every good thing that I could? And that my labour has not been in vain do you not think is attested by this fact, that many of my fellow-citizens who strive for virtue and many from abroad choose to associate with me above all other men? And what shall we say is accountable for

εἶναι, τοῦ πάντας εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἥκιστ' ἂν ἔχοιμι χρήματα ἀντιδιδόναι, ὅμως πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐμοί τι δωρεῖσθαι; τὸ δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι εὐεργεσίας, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς
18 ὁμολογεῖν χάριτας ὀφείλειν; τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἰκτίρειν ἑαυτούς, ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπορώτερον διάγειν ἢ ὅτε τὰ μάλιστα ἡ πόλις ηὐδαιμόνει[1]; τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν τὰς εὐπαθείας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολυτελεῖς πορίζεσθαι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ δαπάνης ἡδίους ἐκείνων μηχανᾶσθαι; εἴ γε μὴν ὅσα εἴρηκα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ μηδεὶς δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελέγξαι με ὡς ψεύδομαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἤδη δικαίως καὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώ-
19 πων ἐπαινοίμην; ἀλλ' ὅμως σύ με φῄς, ὦ Μέλητε, τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντα τοὺς νέους διαφθείρειν; καίτοι ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν δήπου τίνες εἰσὶ νέων διαφθοραί· σὺ δὲ εἰπὲ εἴ τινα οἶσθα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς ἀνόσιον ἢ ἐκ σώφρονος ὑβριστὴν ἢ ἐξ εὐδιαίτου πολυδάπανον ἢ ἐκ μετριοπότου οἰνόφλυγα ἢ ἐκ φιλοπόνου μαλακὸν
20 ἢ ἄλλης πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἡττημένον. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Μέλητος, ἐκείνους οἶδα οὓς σὺ πέπεικας σοὶ πείθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς γειναμένοις. Ὁμολογῶ, φάναι τὸν Σωκράτην, περί γε παιδείας· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσασιν ἐμοὶ μεμεληκός. περὶ δὲ ὑγιείας τοῖς ἰατροῖς μᾶλλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι πείθονται ἢ τοῖς γονεῦσι· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γε

[1] εὐδαιμόνει one MS.; εὐδαιμονεῖ Sauppe with the other MSS.

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[1] The blockade of Athens by the Spartans in the last year of the Peloponnesian War.

this fact, that although everybody knows that it is quite impossible for me to repay with money, many people are eager to make me some gift? Or for this, that no demands are made on me by a single person for the repayment of benefits, while many confess that they owe me a debt of gratitude? Or for this, that during the siege,[1] while others were commiserating their lot, I got along without feeling the pinch of poverty any worse than when the city's prosperity was at its height? Or for this, that while other men get their delicacies in the markets and pay a high price for them, I devise more pleasurable ones from the resources of my soul, with no expenditure of money? And now, if no one can convict me of misstatement in all that I have said of myself, do I not unquestionably merit praise from both gods and men? But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices? And yet surely we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure." "But, by Heaven!" said Meletus: "there is one set of men I know,—those whom you have persuaded to obey you rather than their parents." "I admit it," he reports Socrates as replying, "at least so far as education is concerned; for people know that I have taken an interest in that. But in a question of health, men take the advice of physicians rather than that of their parents; and

πάντες δήπου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς φρονιμώτατα λέγουσι πείθονται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς προσήκουσιν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθε καὶ πρὸ πατέρων καὶ πρὸ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία γε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οὓς ἂν ἡγῆσθε περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φρονιμωτάτους εἶναι; Οὕτω γάρ, φάναι τὸν Μέλητον, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ συμφέρει καὶ νομίζε-
21 ται. Οὔκουν, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην, θαυμαστὸν καὶ τοῦτό σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πράξεσι μὴ μόνον ἰσομοιρίας τυγχάνειν τοὺς κρατίστους ἀλλὰ καὶ προτετιμῆσθαι, ἐμὲ δέ, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώποις, περὶ παιδείας, βέλτιστος εἶναι ὑπό τινων προκρίνομαι, τούτου ἕνεκα θανάτου ὑπὸ σοῦ διώκεσθαι;

22 Ἐρρήθη μὲν δῆλον ὅτι τούτων πλείονα ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναγορευόντων φίλων αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τὰ πάντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλ' ἤρκεσέ μοι δηλῶσαι ὅτι Σωκράτης τὸ μὲν μήτε περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβῆσαι μήτε περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄδικος φανῆναι περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ᾤετο λιπαρητέον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
23 καὶ καιρὸν ἤδη ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ τελευτᾶν. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκε καταδηλότερον ἐγίγνετο ἐπειδὴ ἡ δίκη κατεψηφίσθη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κελευόμενος ὑποτιμᾶσθαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ὑπετιμήσατο οὔτε τοὺς φίλους εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ ὑποτιμᾶσθαι ὁμολογοῦντος εἴη ἀδικεῖν. ἔπειτα τῶν ἑταίρων ἐκκλέψαι βουλομένων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφεί-

moreover, in the meetings of the legislative assembly all the people of Athens, without question, follow the advice of those whose words are wisest rather than that of their own relatives. Do you not also elect for your generals, in preference to fathers and brothers,—yes, by Heaven! in preference to your very selves,—those whom you regard as having the greatest wisdom in military affairs?" "Yes," Meletus had said; "for that is both expedient and conventional." "Well, then," Socrates had rejoined, "does it not seem to you an amazing thing that while in other activities those who excel receive honours not merely on a parity with their fellows but even more marked ones, yet I, because I am adjudged by some people supreme in what is man's greatest blessing,—education,—am being prosecuted by you on a capital charge?"

More than this of course was said both by Socrates himself and by the friends who joined in his defence. But I have not made it a point to report the whole trial; rather I am satisfied to make it clear that while Socrates' whole concern was to keep free from any act of impiety toward the gods or any appearance of wrong-doing toward man, he did not think it meet to beseech the jury to let him escape death; instead, he believed that the time had now come for him to die. This conviction of his became more evident than ever after the adverse issue of the trial. For, first of all, when he was bidden to name his penalty, he refused personally and forbade his friends to name one, but said that naming the penalty in itself implied an acknowledgment of guilt. Then, when his companions wished to remove him clandestinely from prison, he would not accom-

πετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι ἐδόκει, ἐρόμενος εἴ
που εἰδεῖέν τι χωρίον ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔνθα οὐ
προσβατὸν θανάτῳ.
24 Ὡς δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ δίκη, εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Ἀλλ',
ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς μὲν διδάσκοντας τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς
χρὴ ἐπιορκοῦντας καταψευδομαρτυρεῖν ἐμοῦ καὶ
τοὺς πειθομένους τούτοις ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πολλὴν
ἑαυτοῖς συνειδέναι ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν· ἐμοὶ δὲ
τί προσήκει νῦν μεῖον φρονεῖν ἢ πρὶν κατακριθῆ-
ναι, μηδὲν ἐλεγχθέντι ὡς πεποίηκά τι ὧν ἐγρά-
ψαντό με; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀντὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας
καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις θεῶν οὔτε θύων τισὶ καινοῖς
δαίμοσιν οὔτε ὀμνὺς οὔτε ὀνομάζων ἄλλους θεοὺς
ἀναπέφηνα. τούς γε μὴν νέους πῶς ἂν διαφθεί-
25 ροιμι καρτερίαν καὶ εὐτέλειαν προσεθίζων; ἐφ'
οἷς γε μὴν ἔργοις κεῖται θάνατος ἡ ζημία, ἱεροσυ-
λίᾳ, τοιχωρυχίᾳ, ἀδραποδίσει, πόλεως προδοσίᾳ,
οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀντίδικοι τούτων πρᾶξαί τι κατ'
ἐμοῦ φασιν. ὥστε θαυμαστὸν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι
ὅπως ποτὲ ἐφάνη ὑμῖν τοῦ θανάτου ἔργον ἄξιον
26 ἐμοὶ εἰργασμένον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι ὅτι ἀδίκως
ἀποθνῄσκω, διὰ τοῦτο μεῖον φρονητέον· οὐ γὰρ
ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταγνοῦσι τοῦτο αἰσχρόν ἐστι.
παραμυθεῖται δέ τί με καὶ Παλαμήδης ὁ παρα-
πλησίως ἐμοὶ τελευτήσας· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πολὺ
καλλίους ὕμνους παρέχεται Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ ἀδίκως
ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν· οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ μαρτυρή-

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[1] One of the Greek warriors at Troy; put to death on a charge of treason trumped up by Odysseus, or by Odysseus, Diomedes, and Agamemnon.

pany them, but seemed actually to banter them, asking them whether they knew of any spot outside of Attica that was inaccessible to death.

When the trial was over, Socrates (according to Hermogenes) remarked: "Well, gentlemen, those who instructed the witnesses that they must bear false witness against me, perjuring themselves to do so, and those who were won over to do this must feel in their hearts a guilty consciousness of great impiety and iniquity; but as for me, why should my spirit be any less exalted now than before my condemnation, since I have not been proved guilty of having done any of the acts mentioned in the indictment? For it has not been shown that I have sacrificed to new deities in the stead of Zeus and Hera and the gods of their company, or that I have invoked in oaths or mentioned other gods. And how could I be corrupting the young by habituating them to fortitude and frugality? Now of all the acts for which the laws have prescribed the death-penalty — temple robbery, burglary, enslavement, treason to the state—not even my adversaries themselves charge me with having committed any of these. And so it seems astonishing to me how you could ever have been convinced that I had committed an act meriting death. But further, my spirit need not be less exalted because I am to be executed unjustly; for the ignominy of that attaches not to me but to those who condemned me. And I get comfort from the case of Palamedes,[1] also, who died in circumstances similar to mine; for even yet he affords us far more noble themes for song than does Odysseus, the man who unjustly put him to death. And I know that time to come as well as

σεται ὑπό τε τοῦ ἐπιόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου ὅτι ἠδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πώποτε οὐδὲ πονηρότερον ἐποίησα, ηὐεργέτουν δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαλεγομένους προῖκα διδάσκων ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν.

27 Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα μάλα ὁμολογουμένως δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπῄει καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι φαιδρός. ὡς δὲ ᾔσθετο ἄρα τοὺς παρεπομένους δακρύοντας, Τί τοῦτο; εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ἢ ἄρτι δακρύετε; οὐ γὰρ πάλαι ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὔνοις λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσδοκωμένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι.

28 Παρὼν δέ τις Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἐπιθυμητὴς μὲν ὢν ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως δ' εὐήθης, εἶπεν ἄρα· Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, χαλεπώτατα φέρω ὅτι ὁρῶ σε ἀδίκως ἀποθνῄσκοντα. τὸν δὲ λέγεται καταψήσαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· Σὺ δέ, ὦ φίλτατε Ἀπολλόδωρε, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐβούλου με ὁρᾶν δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως ἀποθνῄσκοντα; καὶ ἅμα ἐπιγελάσαι.

29 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἄνυτον παριόντα ἰδὼν εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὅδε κυδρός, ὡς μέγα τι[1] καὶ καλὸν διαπεπραγμένος εἰ ἀπέκτονέ με ὅτι αὐτὸν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶν ἀξιούμενον οὐκ

[1] Sauppe reads τε (a misprint ?).

time past will attest that I, too, far from ever doing any man a wrong or rendering him more wicked, have rather profited those who conversed with me by teaching them, without reward, every good thing that lay in my power."

With these words he departed, blithe in glance, in mien, in gait, as comported well indeed with the words he had just uttered. When he noticed that those who accompanied him were in tears, "What is this?" Hermogenes reports him as asking. "Are you just now beginning to weep? Have you not known all along that from the moment of my birth nature had condemned me to death? Verily, if I am being destroyed before my time while blessings are still pouring in upon me, clearly that should bring grief to me and to my well-wishers; but if I am ending my life when only troubles are in view, my own opinion is that you ought all to feel cheered, in the assurance that my state is happy."

A man named Apollodorus, who was there with him, a very ardent disciple of Socrates, but otherwise simple, exclaimed, "But, Socrates, what I find it hardest to bear is that I see you being put to death unjustly!" The other, stroking Apollodorus' head, is said to have replied, "My beloved Apollodorus, was it your preference to see me put to death justly?" and smiled as he asked the question.

It is said also that he remarked as he saw Anytus[1] passing by: "There goes a man who is filled with pride at the thought that he has accomplished some great and noble end in putting me to death, because, seeing him honoured by the state with the highest

[1] One of the three plaintiffs in Socrates' trial.

ἔφην χρῆναι τὸν υἱὸν περὶ βύρσας παιδεύειν. ὡς
μοχθηρὸς οὗτος, ἔφη, ὃς οὐκ ἔοικεν εἰδέναι ὅτι
ὁπότερος ἡμῶν καὶ συμφορώτερα καὶ καλλίω εἰς
τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον διαπέπρακται, οὗτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ
30 νικῶν. ἀλλὰ μέντοι, φάναι αὐτόν, ἀνέθηκε μὲν
καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔστιν οἷς τῶν ἐν καταλύσει τοῦ βίου
προγιγνώσκειν τὰ μέλλοντα, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ
χρησμῳδῆσαί τι. συνεγενόμην γάρ ποτε βραχέα
τῷ Ἀνύτου υἱῷ, καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι οὐκ ἄρρωστος τὴν
ψυχὴν εἶναι· ὥστε φημὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δουλο-
πρεπεῖ διατριβῇ ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ παρεσκεύακεν οὐ
διαμενεῖν· διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν σπουδαῖον ἐπι-
μελητὴν προσπεσεῖσθαί τινι αἰσχρᾷ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ
31 προβήσεσθαι μέντοι πόρρω μοχθηρίας. ταῦτα
δ' εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ νεανίσκος ἡσθεὶς
οἴνῳ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας ἐπαύετο πίνων, καὶ
τέλος οὔτε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει οὔτε τοῖς φίλοις οὔτε
αὑτῷ ἄξιος οὐδενὸς ἐγένετο. Ἄνυτος μὲν δὴ διὰ
τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ πονηρὰν παιδείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ
ἀγνωμοσύνην ἔτι καὶ τετελευτηκὼς τυγχάνει κακο-
32 δοξίας. Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἑαυτὸν
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ φθόνον ἐπαγόμενος μᾶλλον
καταψηφίσασθαι ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησε τοὺς δικαστάς.
ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ θεοφιλοῦς μοίρας τετυχηκέναι·
τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἀπέλιπε, τῶν
33 δὲ θανάτων τοῦ ῥᾴστου ἔτυχεν. ἐπεδείξατο δὲ
τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ῥώμην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνω τοῦ ἔτι ζῆν
τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτῷ κρεῖττον εἶναι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ
πρὸς τἄλλα τἀγαθὰ προσάντης ἦν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν

offices, I said that he ought not to confine his son's education to hides.[1] What a vicious fellow," he continued, "not to know, apparently, that whichever one of us has wrought the more beneficial and noble deeds for all time, *he* is the real victor. But," he is reported to have added, "Homer has attributed to some of his heroes at the moment of dissolution the power to foresee the future; and so I too wish to utter a prophecy. At one time I had a brief association with the son of Anytus, and I thought him not lacking in firmness of spirit; and so I predict that he will not continue in the servile occupation that his father has provided for him; but through want of a worthy adviser he will fall into some disgraceful propensity and will surely go far in the career of vice." In saying this he was not mistaken; the young man, delighting in wine, never left off drinking night or day, and at last turned out worth nothing to his city, his friends, or himself. So Anytus, even though dead, still enjoys an evil repute for his son's mischievous education and for his own hard-heartedness. And as for Socrates, by exalting himself before the court, he brought ill-will upon himself and made his conviction by the jury all the more certain. Now to me he seems to have met a fate that the gods love; for he escaped the hardest part of life and met the easiest sort of death. And he displayed the stalwart nature of his heart; for having once decided that to die was better for him than to live longer, he did not weaken in the presence of death (just as he had never set his face against any other thing, either, that was for

[1] The tanning trade had been in the family from at least the time of the boy's grandfather.

θάνατον ἐμαλακίσατο, ἀλλ' ἱλαρῶς καὶ προσεδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο.

34 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ κατανοῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα οὔτε μὴ μεμνῆσθαι δύναμαι αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμωτέρῳ τινὶ Σωκράτους συνεγένετο, ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀξιομακαριστότατον νομίζω.

his good), but was cheerful not only in the expectation of death but in meeting it.

And so, in contemplating the man's wisdom and nobility of character, I find it beyond my power to forget him or, in remembering him, to refrain from praising him. And if among those who make virtue their aim any one has ever been brought into contact with a person more helpful than Socrates, I count that man worthy to be called most blessed.

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